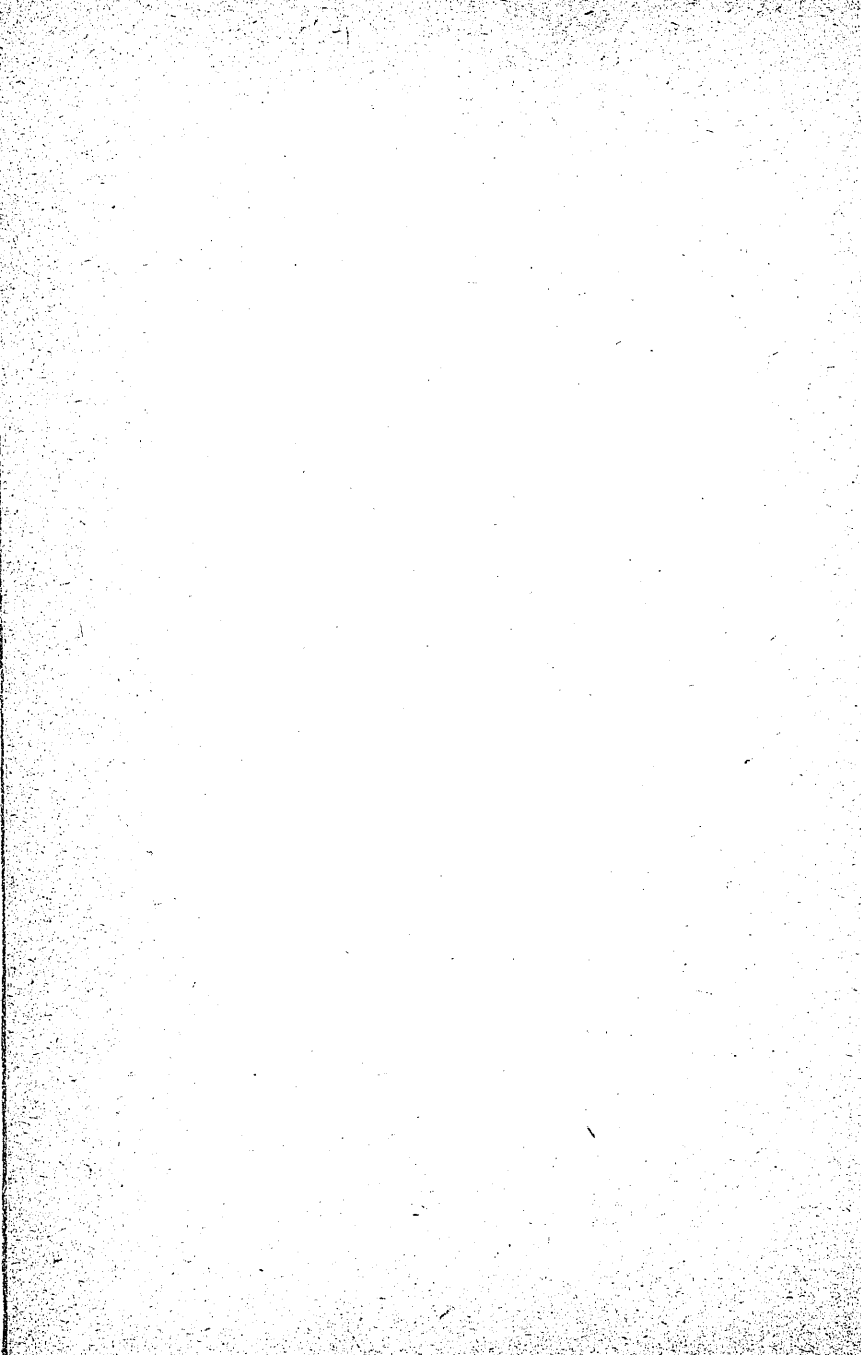


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THE GOSPEL FOUNDATIONS



THE MOORHOUSE LECTURES 1928

THE GOSPEL FOUNDATIONS

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P R E F A C E

ACCORDING to established custom the "Moorhouse Lectures" are addressed not to advanced scholars but to the general body of interested and well-informed people, whether clerical or lay. As in the present course, however, I have ventured to challenge what may be regarded as accepted results of recent scholarship, a preliminary statement of my dissenting position seems desirable.

In the first place, I am unable to think of St. Mark as an untrained and unskilled reporter of St. Peter's and other preachers' information. I have found in him considerable literary ability, especially in filling in a background, or "setting the scene," for his narratives, and this led me to see certain passages as introductions to the sections following. Immediately there sprang to light a very obvious and definite plan in the gospel. To seek for a plan, as sometimes has been done, based on chronological sequence or change of locality, is lost labour. Notices of place are, in fact, comparatively rare, and an apparent chronology is disregarded by the other evangelists and was criticised by an almost contemporary authority. But a plan depending on subject harmonises with the early tradition about the origin of the gospel. As we pass from one section to another of the book as I have analysed it, the change of atmosphere is very striking. It is produced by such means as the change of the demand for faith in the second part of the Ministry section into a demand for understanding in the third. Another example is the constant reiteration of the prophecies of the Cross in the fourth part.

The suggestion that St. Mark's gospel was written about the year 43 occurred to me first as one way of increasing the interval between it and St. Matthew. For

its conception of what reverence was due to Christ and the Apostles and of the place of the miraculous in Christ's ministry appeared to belong to a generation earlier than that which produced and welcomed St. Matthew. Further study showed that the early date implied Antioch as the only probable destination, and suggested St. Barnabas as the originator of the enterprise. And this throws much light upon the gospel itself and upon the history of St. Mark as recorded in Acts.

Two consequences follow. First, the gospel was not written in Rome. The unanimity with which modern writers adhere to the Roman tradition is remarkable in view of the fact that, as even Bacon admits, it first appears as a corollary to the error that St. Peter had settled in Rome from the year 42. Recent scholars have developed a theory that the four gospels preserve the traditions of the four leading centres of first-century Christianity, and owe their canonisation to the authority of these churches. This may well be true in various ways of the other three, but not of St. Mark. Ephesus was, I do not doubt, the birthplace of the Fourth Gospel, but the Witness who speaks in it was the father of the Ephesian tradition rather than its child. St. Matthew may well be, in a more accurate sense, the outcome of a tradition at Antioch or elsewhere. St. Luke, of course, gives us the knowledge extant in the city or cities where he conducted his researches, although we cannot say how much he owed to a few exceptionally instructed individuals. But since there is reason to think that his book was very slowly disseminated, the home of his Theophilus was probably some out-of-the-way place.

But St. Mark must not be put on a level with these. It is not only one of the four but more or less a source of the other three. Wherever it started it had reached their places of origin before they were written. They

show that three important churches were not content to possess only St. Mark, and there is no evidence or likelihood that any church was so content permanently. As Rome's prominence in Christian affairs dates much later than that of Antioch or even Ephesus, it is the least likely of all places to have given birth to the preliminary gospel outline for all the rest. The meagre information supplied by the references in the earliest Roman fathers proves that by the end of the century, at all events, Rome looked for teaching to other gospels than St. Mark's.

The second consequence is that St. Paul must have read St. Mark when he was in Antioch about the year 45. If there are references to it in his epistles the question of date is more or less determined. I claim that the coincidences of language, which certainly occur, in every case give the priority to St. Mark. For either St. Paul is obscure until we realise that he is making a mental reference to the gospel, or else his language is a development of St. Mark's in depth of meaning or towards a technical vocabulary. But the eschatological passages in Thessalonians are based, as we shall see, on a combination of St. Mark with much that is now found only in St. Matthew. I suggest that St. Mark's chapter has been abbreviated, and this is not simply an expedient to avoid a difficulty. An examination of the omissions shows that they all have a severe or threatening tone. St. Mark will not speak of the Second Advent as a Day of Judgment or represent the Church as taken by surprise.

When we examine the accounts of the Baptist's preaching exactly the same peculiarity separates St. Mark from the other two. He omits the axe at the root of the trees, the winnowing fan, and the burning of the chaff. When he comes to the "baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire" he omits precisely the objectionable word which links it

with the other discarded sayings. May not the common matter of St. Matthew and St. Luke have been derived from the longer form of St. Mark? Similarly, the parable of the tares may have originally stood in St. Mark, and the longer Matthæan form of the Syro-phœnician miracle and the saying about the stone that grinds to powder (St. Matt. xxi. 44—St. Luke xx. 18). The theory of an early longer St. Mark accounts for the tradition that it is an abbreviation of St. Matthew. That St. Paul read it in Antioch helps to account for the outburst of energy that transformed him into the greatest of missionaries.

II

It may be asked whether the Apostles' expectation of an immediate Parousia of Christ would not hinder the writing of a gospel at so early a date as 43. It would depend upon how engrossing, and therefore paralysing, the expectation was. The Thessalonians, for instance, seem to have been led into a neglect of daily duties. But there is really no sign that the Apostles lost their interest in earthly happenings, or the sanity of their ordinary life. If the writing of gospels was really long delayed we might adduce the Advent hope to account for it, but to argue from a supposed excitement that the gospels must be late is illogical. Again, it is said that the Apostles shared the rabbinical prejudice against committing their teachings to writing. But I suppose St. Mark's gospel to have originated in the mind of St. Barnabas, a Hellenist, with Cyprian antecedents, and living in contact with Greek civilisation. Curiously enough, the tradition preserved by Clément of Alexandria does represent St. Peter as at least lukewarm about the project. Without stressing the authority of the passage,

we may notice that it fits the facts so exactly that there may well be a ground for it in truth.

A far more radical objection in the minds of some will be that the early date allows no time for much exaggeration of the miraculous passages. Within fourteen or fifteen years the miracles were used as illustrations of Christ's teaching and character, and one of the most striking—the feeding of the multitude—was extant in two forms, of which the inferior had been distorted by eucharistic interpretation.

I have refrained from allowing considerations of this sort to influence my critical studies of the gospels. If the occurrence of miracles is simply a matter of evidence, our first duty is to examine the evidence prior to discussing the question of their possibility. But the problem is not whether the miracles happened exactly as they are recorded, but whether anything happened which eye-witnesses could record as the evangelists do.

Once, when I was conducting a mission at West Maitland, a lady asked for our prayers that she might get news of a daughter who had left home after a family dispute and had not been heard of for three years. On the second day of our intercessions her son in Sydney was attracted by some article in a shop window, and when he entered the shop to buy it found himself face to face with his sister. The point is that when I told the congregation that this prayer must be turned into a thanksgiving, there was no doubt at all about their reception of the news. Their belief was, "Surely the Lord is in this place and I knew it not." Their emotion was a mingling of joy, surprise, and awe in the presence of the numinous. If they had written an account of the event it would have read pretty much like a gospel miracle. They were twentieth-century Australians. How much more easily the witnesses of Christ's deeds,

who believed that they themselves wrought miracles, could give us the wonderful narratives first hand and immediately. For this reason, apart altogether from the more important question of their accuracy, I do not think that the miracle stories imply a late date for the gospels.

III

Side by side with St. Mark I place St. John as a second "Foundation" gospel. I have occupied two chapters with an attempt to show that its narratives are trustworthy, that as a rule they are complementary to St. Mark, and that where there is divergence it is at least as likely as St. Mark to be correct. Sometimes, indeed, the writer seems to make a fetish of minute accuracy. It is inconceivable that he did not attempt to be equally correct in his report of Christ's sayings. He may have failed. As Mr. Richmond warns us (in *Theology*, viii, 47): "The recollections of the order of facts and events recalled from the days of their youth are often singularly detailed and minute. But the recollection of words and ideas, thus transmitted over an interval of years through the medium of another mind, are necessarily coloured by the mind through which they pass." That the Fourth Gospel was written by a very old man is merely a matter of tradition, which we need not at present dispute, though all that is certain is that the last chapter was written after St. Peter's death. If, as I believe, the well known passage, "No man knoweth the Father," passed into Q from the preaching of the fourth Evangelist, his conception of Christ and his style of speech were attained at a very early period. Nor does the fact that he reports Christ's sayings in his own words diminish their authority compared with those recorded by the Synoptists, who do the same thing, though less noticeably, because their styles are less striking.

We can detect, in fact, two interwoven strands in the discourses of St. John. The main difference is that while one is, in the loose sense, mystical, the other is matter-of-fact, and while it records the deeper sayings adds explanations which convert the mysticism into ethical principles. Since the Johannine Epistles do the same thing, we identify this second with the actual author, and the former with his Source.

There are other differences. We read, "The hour cometh, in which all that are in the tombs shall hear His voice, and shall come forth ; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life ; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgment." Nothing could be less Johannine than such a saying. It reads as much like St. Matthew as the one just quoted from him reads like St. John. The two strands have been often recognised—very ably by Dr. Garvie, who attributes them to the "Witness" and the "Evangelist." My own view is that the first is a faithful representation of Christ's own words, while the second gives us the inevitable colouring from the Witness's mind. Of course it follows that the two cannot be disentangled by us, but merge into one another.

But it is claimed that this gives us a picture of Christ's mind irreconcilable with that in the Synoptists. I have tried to show that the Johannine Christ is far more human than many suppose, that His relation to the Father is mainly that of Perfect Man, that which ought theoretically to be ours and which it is Christ's work to make ours. Beyond this, however, are the notes of universality and eternity. My faith is that these are found in Christ, and therefore I see no difficulty in believing that one who lay on His breast found them there. Moreover, all the Johannine Christ, rightly understood, is presupposed in the Synoptic Gospels. In

isolated fragments they make a claim for Christ which only St. John's conception justifies.

IV

It will be seen that my criticism of the gospels is so radically at variance with most that has been lately written, that I can make little use of other writers in these lectures. I have dealt with Prof. Bacon as the foremost upholder of the Roman origin of St. Mark. But our theological presuppositions set a great gulf between me and scholars of his type—which does not prevent me from admiring his industry in research. I have also referred to Canon Streeter's theory of the composition of St. Luke. I do not need to dispute it so far as it postulates a Proto-Luke formed by the combination of Q with the information which St. Luke collected for himself. But even at that stage he must have known St. Mark.

My view is that at first he designed his book to be supplementary to the earlier gospel, and at a later time combined all of St. Mark that he thought valuable with his own gospel, in order to make one comprehensive book which would supersede St. Mark. It does not seem to me clear that he regarded either of the components as superior, or that he treated one as framework and the other as insertion. Sometimes he prefers the Proto-Luke version of a narrative to the Marcan, and in each case we can justify the preference. If sometimes it was in the reverse direction we should know nothing of it, since the discarded version is no longer extant.

I trust that my silence will not be taken for ignorance of the great expounders of the gospels, and that when I have echoed their teachings without acknowledgment, I shall not be thought unmindful of my debt to them.

J. S. WANGARATTA.

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THE GOSPEL FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE CHARM OF ST. MARK

ALTHOUGH the Gospel of St. Mark contains only a few verses which are not in the others, its disappearance would be to all of us a serious loss. Students of Gospel origins value it as the earliest of the four, and the source of much that St. Matthew and St. Luke tell us. But apart from this scientific interest, it appeals to the general reader with a charm of its own. To some extent this is due to its omissions. Most of us love action in a story or drama, and are wearied by the intrusion of long "conversations." In spite of the moral grandeur of the Sermon on the Mount, in spite of the spiritual depth of the discourses in St. John, we read more easily St. Mark's series of graphic paragraphs, each the story of an impressive act of power and love. We may not have noticed, but it is true, that the order in which the stories stand has a psychological fitness, so that it draws the mind on with a melody that has no difficult intervals or sudden changes of key. Unfortunately, it is not our habit to read a book of the Bible continuously as we do any other book, and therefore we miss many of its broad features and fail to grasp its general plan. We take it in paragraphs, or even smaller snippets, and watch chiefly for minute beauties and half-concealed implications.

St. Mark's genius as a narrator does in another way reveal itself to those who study the gospel piecemeal. He has the power by a single word or phrase to bring a whole scene vividly before our mental vision. Some-

times it is an arresting detail. When the daughter of Jairus revived, she "rose up and walked, for she was twelve years old. And He commanded that something should be given her to eat" (v. 42, 43). Sometimes it is a gesture springing from the soul of Christ. The rich young ruler turns impatiently from commonplace morality, "and Jesus looking upon him, loved him" (x. 21). When the woman with the issue of blood hid herself among the crowd, Jesus "looked round about to see her that had done this thing." Bartimæus heard the call of Christ and "casting away his garment he sprang up and came" (x. 50).

Sometimes the detail is an accessory fact that fills in the background of the picture, all the more satisfyingly if it is not needed for the story. For then we seem to be dealing with the concrete completeness of nature rather than the artist's selection of significant circumstances. When Christ came down from the Mount of Transfiguration He saw a great crowd round the Apostles, and scribes disputing with them (ix. 14). This has little to do with the healing of the lunatic boy, but St. Peter saw it, and remembers and tells it. The story of the stilling of the storm has many such details. "Leaving the crowd, they take Him along as He was in the boat, and there were other boats with Him." They come no more into the story, and how they fared we are not told. "And a great storm of wind gets up and the waves kept beating into the boat—so that now the boat is filling." St. Mark's tenses are splendid. We sense the growing fear of the Apostles. "And He—He was in the stern on the cushion—sleeping" (iv. 36-38). The three strokes draw the picture.

Of course Christ went to sleep before the storm began. St. Mark does sometimes introduce his details only when they begin to affect the story. The rich

young ruler is only known to be rich when at the end he goes away sorrowful, for he has great possessions. When Christ healed the paralytic at Capernaum there were scribes among the audience. But we hear of them only when they begin to murmur (ii. 1-6). We are made to feel as if actually present at an event which gradually unfolds itself.

But a more usual and much more important characteristic of St. Mark's style is just the opposite of the last one. He often begins a story with a full description of the scene, or of the past history of those concerned in it. We have seen that already in the story of the lunatic boy. The Gerasene demoniac is described at length (v. 2-5). The woman with the issue had been afflicted for twelve years, and had suffered many things from many physicians (trying one failure after another), and had spent all her resources, and had got no help at all but rather went from bad to worse, and she had heard the report about Jesus—and so she came (v. 25-27). In this way, in preliminary sentences, St. Mark sets the scene for his narrative. Shakespeare, we may remember, has the same power, and gets due praise for it from the critics.

SETTING THE SCENE

We must give a great deal of attention to this point. Sometimes St. Mark gives us a fact in preparation for what is coming a long way on. In the third chapter (ver. 9) Christ arranges that a boat shall be in attendance because of the crowd. He goes up into the mountain, organises the band of twelve Apostles, teaches again in a crowded house. And then in chapter iv. He uses the boat as a pulpit and afterwards crosses the lake in it. Peter, in the high priest's courtyard, was sitting

and warming himself (xiv. 54), but it is only when the high priest's investigation has been completed that we hear of his adventure there (ver. 66). The betrayal by Judas is told in advance, that we may understand Christ's saying which puzzled the Apostles at the Supper. Now this is important, first, because it shows that St. Mark is not thinking out his gospel as he goes along and jotting down anecdotes as they occur to him. He knows what he is going to write about perhaps a chapter ahead. We shall see presently that he has quite a definite plan for the gospel as a whole.

Moreover, we see, secondly, that St. Mark's mind is of the type that likes to lead up to a story. He prepares foundations for it or, as we said, sets the scene. Consider how he prepares to tell us of the organisation of the Apostles. In chapter i. he told us of the growing excitement which drove Christ into the wilderness. In chapter ii. he told us of a growing opposition before which (iii. 7) He withdrew to the seaside. These two currents of public opinion create the situation, but at first the former is the more important and the other must not make us forget it.

So in iii. 7-12 we have a great crowd following, pressing on Him to see His works of healing, demons bearing an unwelcome witness. This is what forces Him to choose a band of true disciples, and within that the special band of twelve. Consider, again, the repeated prophecies of the Passion (viii. 31 ; ix. 9-12, 31 ; x. 32-34, 45). That Christ spoke often about it did not necessitate that the sayings should be often reported. But St. Mark dwells on it in order to create the atmosphere needful both for that section of the Ministry and for the story of the Passion afterwards. He would have his readers feel like the Apostles, who were amazed, and as they followed were afraid (x. 32). In that state of mind

we too go up to Jerusalem. If St. Mark had known that the anointing at Bethany came before Palm Sunday, he must still have told it where he does as the introduction to the Passion. It may be in consequence of his mental build that he tells at such length the preparation for the Palm Sunday procession and for the Last Supper. It is entirely in harmony with it that, as a preface to the account of Christ's ministry, he gives that of the Baptist, and even carries that back to the prophets who foretold it. He sets a fashion thereby which all later Evangelists follow.

THE PLAN OF THE GOSPEL

There are two specially interesting instances of scene-setting which enable us to correct the customary analysis of the contents of St. Mark's gospel. The first of these is the story of Bartimæus (x. 46-52). For the first time in the gospel an outsider salutes Christ as the Messiah—"Son of David, Jesus, have mercy on me." It shocked the multitude, who tried to silence the blind man's shouts. Dr. Rawlinson thinks they objected to a delay of the Master's progress, but we must not confer on them a Western mentality. Haste and punctuality are our virtues but not theirs. Nor must we turn what was really at this time a leisurely journey into a procession like that of Palm Sunday. These followers of Christ were never unwilling to witness a miracle, and could scent one from afar (cf. ix. 25). But the more they rebuked Bartimæus the more he cried, "Son of David, have mercy on me." St. Mark repeats the words because he wants us to attend to them. Bartimæus is the preceptor of the Palm Sunday chorus, and even more definitely than they, believes in Christ's Messiahship.

Now the Jerusalem section of the gospel, from this point to the end of chapter xiii., presents Christ as the

Messianic King. The royal entry, the authoritative cleansing of the Temple, the decision of disputed points of theology and religious practice, are all in keeping with that idea. So is the judgment on the nation, at first symbolically as a barren fig-tree and in parable as unfaithful servants, but finally in reproaches against the ruling class, and in prophecy of the entire ruin of the Temple and the city. Hence we must reckon Bartimæus as leading up to and included in the Jerusalem or Messianic section of the gospel.

The second of our two episodes is now easily interpreted. The women who beheld the crucifixion from afar (xv. 40) and saw where the Body was laid (xv. 47) are the same women who were early at the tomb on Easter Day. Their whole importance depends on the fact that they were the first to discover the Resurrection. Indeed, the burial of Christ is only important because He rose from the tomb. Hence, according to St. Mark's purpose, the Resurrection story begins with the first mention of the women at xv. 40.

Attaching these two paragraphs, the healing of Bartimæus and the women at the Cross and Tomb, to the sections following them, we can discern the large features of St. Mark's plan. After a prologue (i. 1-15) we have the long narrative of Christ's ministry (i. 16-x. 45), the Jerusalem section (x. 46-xiii. 37), the Passion story (xiv. 1-xv. 39), and the mutilated Resurrection story (xv. 40-xvi. 8). Let us read the final verse of each of these divisions. We shall see that each one gives us an impressive climax.

i. 15 : "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye, and believe in the gospel."

If that does not seem striking, suspend judgment until we see what St. Paul found in it.

x. 45 : "The Son of Man came not to be ministered

unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

The first clause summarises all that precedes this verse, and the second all that follows it.

xiii. 37 : "What I say unto you I say unto all, Watch."

Every Christian living in expectation of the Second Advent must take that as the Master's warning to himself individually.

xv. 39 : "Truly this man was the Son of God."

These verses cannot occur accidentally. They justify our analysis, and also they show that St. Mark was artist enough to practise the use of climax. But indeed he shows that on a larger scale. His deliberate refusal to suggest any visit to Jerusalem before the final one is itself a use of climax. It can scarcely have been due to ignorance if he was himself an inhabitant of the city and a friend of many of Christ's followers there. There was a tradition extant, which St. John preserves, that the cleansing of the Temple took place at the opening of Christ's public life. St. Luke believed that the scribe's question about the law was asked months before St. Mark's date. A coalition of Pharisees and Herodians about the tribute question is much more credible in Galilee than in Jerusalem. Our Lord's question about the baptism of John, apparently arising out of the cleansing of the Temple, is also more natural if it was asked at the time when His work and St. John's were closely connected. In fact, there is little in the section, except the warnings about the fate of the city, which probably belongs to Holy Week, or would seem to do so to St. Mark. What he saw was that the Messianic claim must have been, and was, made in Jerusalem and to the rulers. If it was made elsewhere it must officially be made here. And even if it was made earlier it must have been made at the last, since it caused the end. The whole subject

is brought together into one impressive section and made the climax of the history.

We have, then, no certain knowledge of our Lord's actions and teaching during Holy Week, from Palm Sunday to the Last Supper. It is an unwelcome conclusion if we wish to possess a "Life of Christ" in the modern sense, but it is forced on us by the Evangelists themselves. They have no scruples about changing the order of events, and they do it even where the earlier writer indicates a definite time-sequence. St. Mark has placed the cleansing of the Temple quite distinctly between our Lord's cursing of the fig-tree and its withering, but St. Matthew changes the order. St. Mark says that the scribe's question was asked because he saw that Christ had answered the Sadducees well, but St. Luke transfers it to an earlier visit. Probably St. Luke, and certainly St. John, aimed at a chronological order, but the other two seem to be quite unconcerned about the accuracy of their statements as to succession in time. They produce an illusion of consecutiveness which must not mislead us. It is not likely, as we shall see, that they knew what the true order of events was. An almost contemporary critic of St. Mark already noticed that "Mark wrote accurately but not in order."

We need not press this criticism too far. It applies to the order of particular events, but any well-instructed Christian would know that the Baptist preceded and prepared for Christ, that Christ's early ministry was in Galilee, and that it was not immediately successful in establishing a strong Galilean church. He would be able to learn of Christ's enforced retirement from that district, and of His activity in Judæa and Perea and, especially if he lived in Jerusalem, he would know with some fulness the story of the Passion and the Resurrection. To that extent St. Mark could arrange his material in biographical

form, and to that extent he actually does. But only occasionally could he fit his paragraphs into their real chronological positions. He could only estimate the general character of each period of the ministry and put his incidents where they seemed most appropriate.

ANALYSIS OF THE MINISTRY SECTION

Most writers on St. Mark have noticed two points in the story of the ministry where we pass to a new situation. These are the appointment of the twelve and St. Peter's confession of Christ at Cæsarea Philippi. We shall see that another is equally well marked, namely, the preaching tour of the Apostles. Now these three are milestones in the career of the Apostles, and we have found that the ministry section, when properly delimited, begins and ends with similar paragraphs. For it begins with the call of the fisher Apostles, and it ends with a prophecy of the martyrdom of two of them.

Our surprising conclusion must be that the story of the ministry is set in a framework not dealing with Christ's experience but with that of the twelve, an impossible way of writing biography. St. Mark's object must have been to show how the Apostles were trained, by being with Christ, to become His messengers to the world (iii. 14). The practical use of such a book would be that it would invite all other Christians to accept similar training. It would be a manual of what a Christian ought to believe and do. There is good evidence that St. Mark's information came to him largely from St. Peter's sermons, and that St. Peter had used his reminiscences precisely for this practical purpose. He taught, as Christ did not, "like their scribes." As the scribes based themselves on their predecessors, saying "Rabbi So and So says," so St. Peter quoted Christ. The

repeated "and He said" in Mark iv. 21-30 is a good example. But he quoted acts as well as sayings. St. Mark's curious arrangement of his subject is thus a direct consequence of the homiletic setting in which his information came to him.

The five paragraphs which we say are the framework of the ministry story divide it into four blocks. And if we are right, if we have correctly entered into St. Mark's conscious scheme, each of these blocks will have a character of its own. That this is so we have now to demonstrate.

1. *The First Block* (i. 21-iii. 6)

The teaching of Christ and still more His exorcism of the unclean spirit arouse surprise and an excitement which increases when He heals many sick and demoniacs. It is unwelcome to Him. The enthusiasm at Capernaum He treats as a signal to go elsewhere. When He heals the leper He imposes silence on him, and later references show that this became His custom (v. 43 ; vii. 33, 35 ; viii. 23, 26 ; ix. 25). The people's disobedience made it ineffective, and hence "Jesus could no more openly enter into a city but was without in desert places" (i. 45). The people still came to Him there, as we shall see when He feeds the five thousand.

From this point we hear of a growing opposition from the Pharisees. It begins as a charge of presumptuous blasphemy when Christ absolves the paralytic. He is charged with keeping bad company, eating with sinners and publicans in Levi's house. He falls short of a proper religious strictness by not inculcating fasting. Finally, He is accused of breaking the divine law of the sabbath. From a Jewish point of view the accusations form an ascending series. Again the conclusion is a forced

retirement, for the Pharisees went out, and with the Herodians took counsel against Him how they might destroy Him.

This block covers the whole Galilean ministry. It is only when we reach the third block that we shall find Christ actually followed into the deserts or His life endangered. It is not chronological in detail, for the visit to Capernaum, in ii. 1, is in direct contradiction to the statement of the preceding verse, nor are ripe corn-fields easily placed early in the Galilean period, nor at that time did Christ possess a definite following distinguishable from the disciples of John and of the Pharisees. The block shows why the Galilean ministry was in an ordinary sense a failure. On the one hand the people were so unspiritual that they could see little in Christ but a wonder worker; on the other hand the ruling classes rejected Him. The ministry therefore ended in a forced retirement.

ii. *The Second Block* (iii. 20-vi. 6)

The two already mentioned characteristics of the Galilean period have forced Christ to organise a body of true followers, chosen by Himself, with the twelve as an inner circle. They are called, in iv. 10, "those who were with Him with the twelve." These chosen few are the germ of the Church, a company not of the world, as St. John puts it. They are the real and permanent fruit of Christ's work, and represent the one success which He wins from Galilee.

The whole section is dominated by the Church idea. First we have, in iii. 20-35, a multitude sitting around Christ whom He claims as His true family because they do the will of God. The central part of the paragraph (vers. 22-30) is obviously parenthetical, and belongs

to a somewhat later time. This description of the Church as Christ's kindred and family is followed by parabolic teaching, found only here in St. Mark's account of the ministry, although he says that Christ used many such parables (iv. 33, 34). The reason for this form of teaching is stated: "Unto you is given the mystery of the Kingdom of God; but unto them that are without all things are done in parables" (iv. 11). It marks the distinction between the Church and the world.

The parables which St. Mark chooses as examples deal with the existing situation. The Sower sows the word widely, but there are many, like the scribes, who reject it, many like the multitude who, through shallowness of soul or worldly desires, fail to come to fruitfulness. Yet, as the second parable says, the word has a principle of life in itself, and in due time will produce a harvest. From being small as mustard seed the Church will become a great tree. Interpolated sayings point out that the apparent harshness of the quotation from Isaiah must be subordinated to a wider intention. What is secret now will in due time be manifest to all.

So far the section has dealt with Christ's sayings, but here it passes to actions. The stilling of the storm shows Christ undismayed by the danger which to the Apostles seems imminent. We can imagine St. Peter using it with effect when, for instance, Saul was making havoc of the Church. The Gerasene story and that of the visit to Nazareth both tell of Christ being rejected. Possibly the raising of Jairus's daughter is meant to present Him as having "life in Himself."

It is not insignificant that four times in these narratives faith, the foundation virtue of the Church, is stressed as the necessary response to Christ. In the first section of the Ministry faith is only mentioned once, and in the third not at all.

The second block, we see, has a character entirely different from the first. It gives us the other side of the picture. Out of the failure of Galilee this one success emerged. There the Church was born, and the real nature of the Church—Christ's family, the seed destined to become the Kingdom, the mystery or hidden working of the Kingdom, militant, often rejected, only imperfectly realised as yet—is the idea that governs St. Mark's selection.

iii. *The Third Block* (vi. 7–viii. 26)

The first block ended with a withdrawal. The second ended on the same note : "No prophet is unhonoured save in his own country, and among his kindred and in his home." The third block deals with this withdrawal from Galilee.

If, for the moment, we pass over its first paragraph, the beheading of the Baptist, we can arrange its contents in two parallel series :

- | | |
|---|---|
| vi. 30–46 : Feeding of five thousand. | viii. 1–9 : Feeding of four thousand. |
| vi. 47–56 : He crosses the sea (by a miracle). | viii. 10 : He crosses the sea. |
| vii. 1–13 : Controversy with Pharisees (defilements). | viii. 11–13 : Controversy with Pharisees (signs). |
| vii. 14–23 : Teaching on same subject. | viii. 14–21 : Teaching against leaven of Pharisees and Herod. |
| vii. 24–30 : The Syro-phenician woman. | |
| vii. 31–37 : Heals a deaf man. | viii. 22–26 : Heals a blind man. |

Both the previous sections had a double structure, and here again St. Mark shows his curious liking for it. The order is not chronological, for history does not repeat itself in that way. Recognition of this fact relieves us of the necessity for picturing Christ as journeying backwards and forwards between Galilee and the North. There was, in fact, only one retirement, the miracles which seem to contradict it having been performed before Christ left Galilee.

The situation with which we are dealing comprises three elements :

(a) Our Lord's popularity with the crowd was greater than ever (vi. 54-56). The five thousand who followed Him, forgetful of their bodily needs, were probably a larger crowd than any usual one. After the miracle there was a crisis of some sort. Christ had to "compel" the Apostles to go away. The multitude had to be dismissed, apparently against their will. Christ went up into the mountain to pray, and elsewhere St. Mark seems to mention His prayers because of some spiritual stress (i. 35 ; xiv. 35). We need not hesitate to accept St. John's statement that, after the feeding, the multitude would have taken Him by force to make Him their King (John vi. 15).

(b) The opposition of the Pharisees has also become more intense. The mention for the second time (iii. 22 ; vii. 1) of scribes who came from Jerusalem is here structurally appropriate. We may suppose that they were not in Capernaum accidentally, but had come to investigate Christ's teaching and behaviour, as was their duty (cf. John i. 19). In the earlier controversies Christ merely defended Himself, but now He becomes the aggressor (vii. 6-13), and His abrupt refusal of a sign (viii. 12) is virtually a breaking off of relations with them.

(c) Behind the scenes there is Herod. To St. Mark's mind this is the most significant fact of all. He sets his scene by that introductory paragraph which stands apart from the two series. The one notable result of the Apostles' mission was "And king Herod heard of Him; (for His name was spread abroad)" (vi. 14). The mention is not of course due to snobbishness. If Herod regards Christ as John risen from the dead (a new, more troublesome and dangerous John), it will be necessary to beware of Herod. The story of the Baptist's death shows that, though of course it is also interesting in itself to those who knew him.

Put then these three facts together—the popular readiness for revolution, the Pharisees' hatred, and Herod's aroused suspicions—and the outcome is obvious. The Pharisees will use the people's dangerous enthusiasm to instigate Herod to the imprisonment and judicial murder of Christ. To do this they will plot with Herodians, members of Herod's *entourage*. It is the point that we reached in iii. 6. St. Luke's story, that certain Pharisees urged Christ to withdraw lest Herod should kill Him, becomes highly probable. That is what Christ did, since Jerusalem must be the place of His death.

Meanwhile, however, the whole situation was changed by Christ's own teaching. We noted that in this third block faith is not mentioned, but another key-word takes its place. Christ demands "understanding." St. Mark has this word at vi. 52, vii. 14, 18, and it is the subject of the paragraph viii. 13-21. It goes with the most outspoken reproaches addressed by Christ to the Apostles: "Have ye your heart hardened? Having eyes, see ye not? And having ears, hear ye not? And do ye not remember?" He found it hard to make them understand His teaching. This was in the first place about

defilements, but it went much farther than questions of ritual. It drew the distinction, between the belly and the heart, the body and the soul, the material and the spiritual. It contrasted lip-honour and the service of the heart, legalism and evangelism. It was an attack on the leaven of the Pharisees. When the leaven of Herod is joined with this, Christ must mean the false idea of a Herod-like King, failure to see that His own sovereignty was to be spiritual. For such a reversal of their Messianic idea the Galileans were totally unprepared and unworthy. Christ withdrew from Herod's hostility and the Pharisaic plot, but He left Galilee finally and permanently because the people could not rise to the level of His teaching. St. John says that from this time many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him.

There is in this section of St. Mark a still deeper note. The disciples were beyond measure astonished at Christ walking on the sea, because "they understood not concerning the loaves" (vi. 52). Somehow the former miracle should have prepared them for the later one. Christ Himself bids the Apostles remember the miraculous feeding in order to understand His warning against leaven. The walking on the sea differs from the stilling of the storm, in that Christ not only controlled the sea but made it subservient to His own purposes. The teaching is that material things can be, and are to be, used for spiritual ends. There are signs from the earth as well as from heaven, though they cannot be given to an unspiritual generation because they are spiritually discerned. It is the principle of Sacraments. But how does the feeding of the multitude proclaim it? Why does St. Mark—and (according to him) Christ Himself—refer us to the miracle? Men have answered that it foreshadows the Holy Communion. Do not rather both it and the

Holy Communion give expression to the deeper truths which St. John builds upon the story in his great sixth chapter ?

Already, when St. Mark wrote, steps had been taken in St. John's direction. That his two miracles of feeding multitudes are really one is granted even by conservative commentators. It is a miracle that would hardly bear repetition, especially considering the temper of the people, and the second story, even in St. Mark, is told as if it were a first and totally unlooked-for event. It is a second version, we believe, of the other story, distinguished chiefly by the numbers used. And the numbers have become symbolical. Four thousand is the world number and three the divine number. Seven denotes completeness, and symbolises the adequacy of the spiritual food, while the seven baskets remind us that the Bread of Life is undiminished by using. You can get seven from five (loaves) and two (fishes). The fishes, which have no place in the sacramental teaching, are left unnumbered, and only mentioned late in the story in a cursory and unemphatic manner. The motive which created the second story was thus a sacramental one. And if the first is St. Peter's, this one may have been circulated by less responsible catechists intent on drawing morals. Could we not find in our own pulpits and Sunday Schools examples of worse tampering with the gospel story ?

There are three miracles of healing attached to St. Mark's third block. If the Syrophenician woman was to be mentioned at all it must be here for geographical reasons. But she fits in well. She has the sort of understanding that our Lord was elsewhere seeking in vain, and He might well hail it with pleasure. "For this saying go thy way : the devil is gone out of thy daughter." The other two miracles are part of the

design. We have not had previously a healing of sense-organs. Here, where Christ is saying to the Twelve, "Having eyes, see ye not? And having ears, hear ye not?" we are told of the restoration of bodily hearing and sight. The difficulty of the spiritual work appears too. There is effort in "looking up to heaven, He sighed, and said, Ephphatha" (vii. 34), and there is even partial failure and the need of a second laying on of hands in the blind man's case (viii. 24, 25). The use of spittle brings in the sacramental teaching. Thus the miracles, placed at the end of each series of narratives, actually summarise the series, and drive home the teaching they contain.

iv. *The Fourth Block* (viii. 31-x. 34)

When we have passed the confession of St. Peter, the shadow of the Cross falls on us. It will be seen presently that each paragraph speaks of cross-bearing, but rather ours than Christ's, because we are still occupied with the Christian way of life. But that is not all. St. Mark contrives to turn the whole section into a journey to Jerusalem. At the beginning we are at Cæsarea Philippi. At ix. 30, 33, we pass through Galilee to Capernaum. At x. 1 we reach the borders (or district) of Judæa and Perea. At x. 32 we are going up to Jerusalem, and the beginning of the Messianic section finds us at Jericho. This is not historical. Actually some six months of active ministry are covered by the period, and during them St. Luke suggests, and St. John says, that Christ was in Jerusalem more than once. But with the Cross always in His mind Christ was, in a spiritual sense, all the time on His way to Calvary. Even St. Luke, as far back in his gospel as ix. 51, says that Christ steadfastly set His face to journey to Jerusalem, showing that he understood and accepted St. Mark's conception.

It becomes doubtful whether the six prophecies of the Cross and Resurrection in St. Mark were really given on six different occasions. Perhaps the Evangelist is rather telling us the same prophecy repeatedly, so that we too shall ever have the Cross before our minds. It thus becomes easier to understand how, after all, the Apostles were taken by surprise when the events came to pass.

If there are two series in this block, as in the other three, we must make it begin properly at ix. 30, and what precedes will be the setting of the scene. Just as the third block was introduced by the Herod paragraph, this more deeply serious one is introduced by no less than three paragraphs. The first of these (viii. 31-ix. 1) strikes the indispensable note of the necessity of the Cross for Christ and for us. Peter had to learn the first, and all of us have to learn the second. "Christ called together the multitude with His disciples," which is as manifestly out of keeping with Cæsarea Philippi as it is in keeping with the practical theme of the gospel. The second paragraph (ix. 2-13) is the story of the Transfiguration. Whatever else that mysterious event means, it declares Christ to be no ordinary man. Through all the weakness and the shame He is one in whom triumphant glory lies hidden. It must remain hidden from the world until Christ has suffered and been set at naught and has risen from the dead. But we disciples must remember it, if human pity in our hearts is to blend with repentant awe as we read the story of our redemption. Then the third paragraph (ix. 14-29) looks back to the Galilean miracles, which it wonderfully summarises and completes. Here we meet again an unclean spirit thrown into agitation (ver. 20) by the presence of Christ. Here we have the demand for faith (vers. 19, 23-24) and the shrinking from publicity

(ver. 25). The sense-organs are to be restored (ver. 25), and through the demon's disobedience, as in the first exorcism (1. 26), the healing word seems to fail, and the boy is apparently dead (ver. 26). A second exercise of power is required, as at the Bethsaida miracle (ver. 27). Perhaps we should add the failure of the Apostles, who still do not understand. For St. Mark's purpose the miracle is almost too good to be true. But it enables us to enter on the teaching of the section, conscious that Christ is not only the Divine man capable of transfiguration, but still the humanly pitiful Prophet of Galilee—conscious also that to follow Him means to deny self and take up our cross, that we may find our true self by losing it.

The first half of the teaching which ensues contains three lessons in cross-bearing. First, we must crucify our rivalries and selfish ambitions, and become great only in service, even of one child (ix. 33-37). Secondly, we must crucify our intolerance of imperfection in others' service, and welcome the good deeds of the unorthodox, not only when he casts out demons, but when he gives a cup of water (vers. 38-41). Thirdly, we must crucify our animal members (and, we suppose, our animal instincts) when they become stumbling-blocks in the way of life (vers. 42-50).

The second half of the teaching arises out of three particular incidents: Christ is asked about divorce, and lays down that stringent law which seems even to some among ourselves a crucifixion of honour as well as of joy. Then they bring children to Him. He has to require of us the crucifixion of that conceit of adult importance which has no time for the weakness and ignorance of children. Lastly, the world must be crucified unto us and we unto the world, as the rich young ruler was taught when he was bidden to give

away his riches to the poor. For eternal life consists not in abundance of things possessed, but in the abundance and value of our spiritual fellowships. So the section ends with a renewed and most solemn insistence that Calvary is the pathway to resurrection (x. 32-34).

THE COMPLETED ANALYSIS

We are now in a position to exhibit a scheme of the gospel in accordance with what we believe to be the mind of the Evangelist. It is as follows :

The Prologue : i. 1-15

A. THE MINISTRY AMONG MEN.

[1st Milestone. *The call of the Disciple : i. 16-20*]

Block I. The Failure of the Galileans—

Through eyes that see not (i. 21-45).

Through hardness of heart (ii. 1-iii. 6).

[2nd Milestone. *The Christian Society : iii. 7-19*]

Block II. The Work of the Founder—

By sowing the word (iii. 20-iv. 34).

By illustrative deeds (iv. 35-vi. 6).

[3rd Milestone. *The Christian Worker : vi. 7-13*]

Block III. The Spiritual Kingdom—

The background of the crisis (vi. 14-29).

Illustrations, first series (vi. 30-vii. 37).

Illustrations, second series (viii. 1-26).

[4th Milestone. *The Christian Conviction : viii. 27-30*]

Block IV. The Way of the Cross—

The background :

The necessity of the Cross (viii. 31-ix. 1).

The glory of the Lord (ix. 2-13).

This same Jesus (ix. 14-29).

Remember the Cross ! (ix. 30-32).

Teachings of Cross-bearing (ix. 33-50).

Incidents of Cross-bearing (x. 1-31).

Remember the Cross ! (x. 32-34).

[*Last Milestone. The Christian Martyr : x. 35-45*]

B. THE WORK OF REDEMPTION.

[*Introduction : The Herald of the Messiah : x. 46-52*]

I. The Messianic King (xi. 1-xiii. 37).

II. The Story of the Passion (xiv. 1-xv. 39).

III. The Story of the Resurrection (xv. 40-xvi. 8).

CONCLUSION

Apart from the imperfections due to my personal shortcomings, this view of St. Mark's gospel will be criticised as converting a bit of natural beauty into a product of artificial workmanship. The answer is twofold. So far as the criticism is correct, it draws attention to an inevitable result of scientific exposition. The structure of a flower can only be investigated and described by an analysis which ruins it and diagrams which caricature it. Yet the diagrams have their use, and in the present instance we may hope that the ruin is but temporary. It is at all events no worse than the annotations of a scholarly edition of the gospel. We return to the text itself with a more perfect enjoyment because of the notes which we have studied and cast aside.

But it may be hoped, with all humility, that the view that St. Mark's gospel is a haphazard collection of anecdotes has been shown to be erroneous. If this is unwelcome to the critics, so much the worse for the critics. To some of us it will be a joy to find that the first gospel is a work of satisfying artistry. It is, at the same time, a work of natural simplicity, and not because the author possessed the art to conceal his art, but because, with a clear vision of what he purposed to

accomplish, he expressed it with an absolute sincerity. Thus he attained to the artistry of Nature herself. It seems difficult to conceive how otherwise his book would have the charm that it has even for the superficial reader. But it is the glory of Nature that her beauty both pleases at the first glimpse of it, and ever grows in loveliness to those who give themselves to patient study and reverent contemplation.

CHAPTER II

ST. MARK IN THE LATER GOSPELS

SOME ACCEPTED FACTS OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

IT is generally agreed that the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke derive much of their contents from St. Mark. This might not be certain merely on the ground of the exactness with which they reproduce it. For exactness of memory is possible where it is customary to rely upon memory, as it was among the Jews of the first century. But if the evangelists agree because they reproduce the same oral teaching, we should have to suppose that the tradition was handed down in Greek, since two translations of an Aramaic tradition, however faithful, must have differed far more than they do in many passages. And we know of no Greek-speaking community who would have possessed a stereotyped oral gospel. But besides this, St. Matthew and St. Luke preserve St. Mark's order as well as his contents. Narratives which are quite independent and have no necessary connection follow each other as they do in St. Mark. So that what the later writers possessed was not only the narratives but the entire series of them, the book more or less as we possess it to-day.

St. Matthew and St. Luke also contain a considerable amount of matter not found in St. Mark, but narrated in almost identical words. And in this also the same order is sometimes found. Thus they both give us a sermon beginning with Beatitudes and ending with the parable of the good and bad foundations, and in both of them this is closely followed by the healing of the centurion's servant. They both contain Christ's denunciation of the cities of Galilee, followed by the sayings, "I thank Thee, O Father," etc., and "All things are

delivered unto Me by My Father," etc. (Matt. xi. 21-27 ; Luke x. 13-22). Hence it has been generally agreed that they possessed a second source now lost, which is known as Q. This also they must have had in the Greek language.

What does not come from either St. Mark or Q may be denoted by the initials M for Matthew, L for Luke. But here we have no proof that these stand for a single document in each gospel. The contrary is far more probable. In fact, some of it may have still been orally circulated. Even in the second century Ignatius turns impatiently from an argument based on the authority of documents. "And when I said to them, It is written, they answered me, That is the question. But as for me my charter [i.e. authoritative document] is Jesus Christ ; the inviolable charter is His Cross, and His death, and His resurrection" (Phil. 8). And a generation later Papias affects to set more value upon oral tradition than upon books. We do not know that he was justified in his estimate. But we do know that at the end of the first century the author of the Fourth Gospel could write in complete independence of the synoptic gospels, though he used them—St. Mark at all events—when it suited him. We must suppose therefore that ten or twenty years earlier there was a considerable oral tradition extant, and that the Evangelists were often able to incorporate it, if they chose, in the passages they were selecting from the written records. That, for instance, may conceivably be true of St. Luke's variations in the story of the Transfiguration, or of Christ's entry on Palm Sunday into Jerusalem.

ST. MATTHEW'S USE OF HIS PREDECESSORS

So much seems necessary as an introduction to our main theme, the use which the later Synoptists make of

St. Mark. Of St. Matthew we can say certainly that he makes St. Mark the basis of his own work. He includes almost the whole of it and from chapter xiv. (that is, from Mark vi. 14), he retains its order. He generally introduces his additions where he can hang them on to similar passages in St. Mark. For instance, he has a number of parables to insert. Several of these deal with the kingdom of Heaven, and he places them after St. Mark's parables of the sower and the mustard seed. So we get the long chapter (xiii) of similar parables. The two sons and the marriage feast foretell the rejection of the Jewish nation and the entrance of Gentiles into their privileges, so they are joined with the "wicked husbandmen" from St. Mark. Three others in chapter xxv. deal with the Day of Judgment, and are added to the eschatological discourse. The "lost sheep" is attached to sayings about children, and points the moral that "it is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones should perish." The "labourers in the vineyard" St. Matthew supposes to teach the warning, reported by St. Mark, that "the last shall be first and the first last," and he places it with that saying, which he actually repeats at the end of the parable.

This treatment of parables illustrates a general procedure which leads him to construct from various sources the Sermon on the Mount, and the charge to the Apostles in chapter x. While some of that charge was applicable only to the one preaching tour on which Christ was sending them, other parts are as clearly applicable only to their later labours. St. Matthew's method is to unite into one discourse all or most of what he knows on a given subject. Chapters xviii. and xxiii. give other examples.

But he does the same thing when a similar passage

occurs in two of his sources. The parable of the mustard seed is found in St. Mark (iv. 30-32) and in St. Luke (xiii. 18-19), but there is hardly a word the same in the two reports. St. Matthew (xiii. 31, 32) combines the two, first a sentence like St. Luke, then one like St. Mark. In this case it is probable that St. Luke more or less exactly follows Q, and that St. Matthew has St. Mark and Q before him. Another habit of St. Matthew is to combine two or more passages from the same source. The introduction which is prefixed to the Sermon on the Mount is derived from St. Mark. Nearly every word of Matt. iv. 23, 24, is found in Mark i. 14, 28, 32, 39, while Matt. v. 25 is a rewriting of Mark iii. 7, 13. The list of districts differs, because he leaves out the hardly credible Idumæa and Tyre and Sidon and inserts Decapolis, which is demanded for the sake of completeness. Notice the absence of Samaria in both of them, as well as that St. Matthew is dubious about St. Mark's geography.

After the Sermon St. Matthew gives us two chapters of miracles, which are of importance for our purpose. They are arranged in three sets of three, the sets being separated by passages dealing with discipleship. Matt. viii. 18-22 tells of some rather doubtful calls of unnamed men; ix. 9-17 gives the call of Matthew and teaching connected with it. The whole section leads up to ix. 35-38, in which Christ speaks of the greatness of the harvest and the need of more labourers. This arrangement in itself shows that the Evangelist is thinking of miracles as a means used for winning disciples. In St. Mark they were the outcome of Christ's impulse to do good, a revelation of His nature, and therefore a help to know Him. In St. Matthew we are getting away from this truly human Christ, who is yet full of Divine power, to a divinity whose actions are the serene pursuit

of a supreme purpose, but who is superior to our ordinary emotions and motives, so that His humanity is on the verge of Docetism.

From this point of view the one important thing about the miracles is that they are miraculous. The stories are therefore pruned down remorselessly. It is not simply that St. Mark's rather verbose style is made more concise. That is done, but, besides that, all the interesting details are left out. That the centurion sent Jewish friends to speak for him, that the paralytic was let down through the roof, most of the past history of the Gerasene demoniac and of the woman with an issue of blood, the death of Jairus's daughter after the father came to Christ, and Christ's encouragement of him—these and similar delightful features are omitted, and only the bald evidence of superhuman power is left. It is hard to imagine how any writer could so spoil good material.

Let us try to account for St. Matthew's rearrangement of the stories. The centurion's servant probably stood in Q after the Sermon, and therefore offered itself as a first one. But St. Matthew will not begin with one which sets the Gentile's faith above that of Israel, and he therefore puts before it the most Jewish of all the miracles, in which Christ sanctions and enforces the law for the cleansed leper. It must be the Jew first, and afterwards the Gentile. He now wants a third. He passes over St. Mark's first one, the demoniac in the Synagogue, which he resolves to omit altogether, and gives us the rest of that Sabbath day in Capernaum, Simon's mother-in-law, and the crowd after sunset. That leads in St. Mark to a journey, and fits in with the Q passage, which is the first punctuation of the miracle chapters.

The journey invites St. Matthew to begin his second

series with the stilling of the storm, and the Gerasene demoniac, and for a third he can choose between the paralytic at Capernaum and Jairus's daughter. He chooses the former because it leads straight on to the call of Levi, or as he calls him, Matthew. Then the daughter of Jairus begins the third series. There is only one other miracle in the part of St. Mark which he is rearranging, the man with a withered hand, and it will not do. For one thing he wants it for his chapter xii., the controversy with the Pharisees, and for another he has included no healing of sense-organs. He could get these from the later chapters of St. Mark—the ephphatha miracle and the blind man at Bethsaida are available. But neither here nor afterwards will he use them. They are to be omitted altogether from his gospel. Instead, he gives us two blind men who remind us of Bartimæus. They hail Him as Son of David. The question, “Believe ye that I can do this?” makes explicit the motive for the question to Bartimæus, “What wilt thou that I should do?” The requirement of faith echoes, “Thy faith hath saved thee.” But, as in the Bethsaida story, He touched their eyes and charged them to let nobody know.

The third miracle, the dumb demoniac, is plainly the case mentioned in Luke xi. 14 and apparently from Q. The last sentence may possibly not be St. Matthew's. There is some reason to think it due to a scribe's assimilation with St. Luke, but that only means that the likeness was observed, and our identification made, in very early times. I think it is plain that St. Matthew is rather hard up for stories to complete his series, but that makes it more remarkable that he has omitted the two in St. Mark which seem to be just what he wanted. Further, these two are also omitted by St. Luke.

This brings us to a feature which separates both St.

Matthew and St. Luke from St. Mark. They are unwilling to suggest any limitation to Christ's power or knowledge. The fact is that the two omitted miracles are not miraculous enough. We saw that their interest to St. Mark was that they were performed with difficulty, one of them at first with imperfect success, so that they illustrated the difficulty of healing the senses of the soul, and also that they were effected through sacramental signs. The later Evangelists did not wish to convey the idea that Christ found any miracle difficult, or that He was dependent on external means. If it is suggested that there may be some other explanation—such as, that they are a later addition to St. Mark—the answer is that they do not stand alone. St. Matthew also omitted the demoniac at Capernaum, which was in St. Mark from the first, for St. Luke reports it and in its proper order. But he makes alterations. In that story, after Christ says to the demon, "Hold thy peace and come out of him," it tears, or convulses, the man, and cries with a loud voice. In St. Luke's version the loud cry is put before Christ's command, and the convulsion is toned down to "cast him in the midst," while (to make it quite clear) the words "having done him no hurt" are added. The demon's disobedience to Christ's command is therefore removed from the story.

Another example is the epileptic boy after the Transfiguration. St. Matthew as usual shortens the story by omitting nearly all details, but St. Luke only omits some of them. For in St. Mark Christ seeks information about the duration of the affliction, and so shows ignorance. His action is hastened by the approach of the crowd. There is a crying and tearing after the healing command. The boy becomes apparently dead, and Christ has to lay His hands on him to restore him. All these points are omitted by St. Luke as well as by St.

Matthew. We can compare another passage. At Nazareth St. Mark says, "He could do no mighty work except to lay hands on a few sick folk and heal them, and He marvelled because of their unbelief." Here it is St. Luke who fails us, because he has a different story of the rejection at Nazareth, but St. Matthew alters to, "He did not there many mighty works because of their unbelief." He gets rid of "could not" and of Christ's surprise.

We see then that St. Matthew and St. Luke, though they use St. Mark freely, virtually criticise its language. They apparently consider their predecessor insufficiently alive to the reverence due to Christ.

Before we pass to the latter half of St. Matthew's gospel we must notice one more point that has a bearing on it. St. Matthew omits a demoniac and then substitutes two demoniacs at Gerasa for St. Mark's single one. He omits the Bethsaida blind man and converts Bartimæus into two men at Jericho. This is conflation with a vengeance. And there is possibly another instance. The demoniac in Luke xi. 14 is dumb; the corresponding one in Matt. xii. 22, though spoken of as the dumb man, is also blind. It is possible that St. Matthew had two sources which differed as to the affliction of the demoniac, and he has united them. When we estimate the accuracy of the first gospel this phenomenon should be remembered.

In the second half of his gospel St. Matthew follows St. Mark's order with insertions of varying length and importance. Much of the discourse matter in them is parallel with St. Luke and may be from Q, but there are only two of any length where the resemblance is so close as to make the source certain. These are Matt. xxiii. 37-39 and xxiv. 45-51. Elsewhere there is just that difference of language which would arise in two inde-

pendent reports of a single original, and it is combined with difference in the order of paragraphs and of the contents of each paragraph. If, as Streeter says well, identity of language and order prove the use of a single document Q, then the absence of these implies that they are not dependent on a single document. It is still possible that one may be using Q, while the other for some reason abandons it.

On the whole, however, the sayings of Christ reported in St. Matthew are either Q or of the same kind as Q and belonging to the same general tradition, but it is otherwise with the narrative additions. These have been ascribed to a later and somewhat degenerate tradition, marking the farthest that the New Testament goes in the direction which in later times produced the apocryphal gospels. Let us take the whole list of them with some of the objections that have been made to them.

(1) xiv. 28-31. Peter walks on the sea. But, even admitting the possibility, would it, at that period of his discipleship, have occurred to St. Peter that he should try?

(2) xvii. 24-27. The stater in the fish's mouth. This resembles stories told of later saints, as well as in non-Christian literature, but it has not the moral dignity of the gospel miracles.

(3) xxi. 15-16. The children in the Temple.

(4) xxvii. 3-10. The fate of Judas. It is difficult to harmonise with the account in Acts. As an explanation of the name Aceldama it implies that the whole story was made public—the employment and payment of the traitor, his contemptuous or remorseful return of the thirty pieces of silver, the priests' possession of defiled money, and their expedient to get rid of it,—a degree of cynicism which is incredible.

(5) xxvii. 19. Pilate's wife's dream reminds us of legend.

(6) xxvii. 24-25. That Pilate washed his hands is a symbolism quite foreign to Roman thought. The legend may easily have started as a metaphor.

(7) xxvii. 52-53. The appearance of the ghosts of ancient holy men reads more like legend than New Testament, and in fact is as difficult for theology as for rationalism. It is an idea which did develop into apocryphal legend, as in the gospel of Nicodemus.

(8) xxvii. 62-66. The sealing of the tomb is at least suspicious.

(9) xxviii. 1-8. The supernatural form of the angel, as well as the presence of the guards, cannot be harmonised with the other stories, but is of a piece with the angels in the Book of Revelation, admittedly to be interpreted symbolically.

Each of these passages can by itself be defended, but the character of the series as a whole creates a difficulty. It is just what we might expect a popular oral tradition to develop into in a generation or two—the sort of tale that went about in Christian circles at Antioch or elsewhere in the seventies and eighties of the first century. It is noteworthy that while St. Matthew finds room for them, the more educated and careful historian, St. Luke, has neither these nor anything like them. His own additions—such as Zacchæus, Herod's share in the trial of Christ, or the penitent thief—are of a very different kind.

ST. LUKE'S USE OF ST. MARK

We turn now to consider, very much more briefly, St. Luke's use of St. Mark. It differs most importantly from St. Matthew's use in that Marcan and non-Marcan blocks stand side by side with very little interweaving. We used to say that the Evangelist has introduced into

St. Mark two long new passages, Luke vi. 20-vii. 50, and ix. 51-xviii. 14, as well as some shorter ones, regarding St. Mark as the basis and frame-work just as it was for St. Matthew. Canon Streeter has convinced many that we should rather regard the non-Marcian parts as the basis and the Marcan ones as the insertions. His theory of the composition of the gospel is that St. Luke knew Q, and that, perhaps when he accompanied St. Paul in his last visit to Jerusalem, he made enquiries which gave him all that material peculiar to him which we have called L. He combined Q and L in a single book which was sufficiently biographical for us to call it a gospel. Streeter names it Proto-Luke. At a later time he fell in with St. Mark's gospel, and inserted from it such parts as he thought worthy.

There is much to be said for the general idea of this theory. Chapter iii. begins with an elaborate fixing of the date of the Baptist's ministry, which certainly suggests that it was once the beginning of the book, and that the first two chapters have been prefixed at some revision. St. Luke's special matter L is combined with Q, but insertions from it into Marcan sections are few and generally easily explained. Thus the story of St. Peter's call in v. 1-11 is placed where St. Luke, with some reason, thought it chronologically correct. Similarly Christ's lament over Jerusalem, xix. 38-44, is naturally inserted in the Marcan story of Palm Sunday. It would seem from this that the Q and L sections had already been combined before those from Mark were added. Again, the L portions are mostly sayings and discourses of Christ with the addition of a few narratives, such as the miracles in xiii. 10-17; xiv. 1-6, and xviii. 11-19, and Q, we remember, had at least one miracle, the story of the centurion's servant, as well as the short one which introduces the "Beelzebub" passage,

xi. 14. This similarity would make it natural to expand Q into Proto-Luke.

But we must query Streeter's assumption that the reason why St. Mark was only used at a later time was because it was only then that St. Luke fell in with it. We are going to show that St. Mark was written some years before Proto-Luke could have been, and that St. Luke must have known it. But the point is not a serious one for Streeter, and leaves his main theory untouched. There are of course other ways of accounting for the delay in inserting the Marcan passages. The simplest is that at first St. Luke collected information to supplement what he had read in St. Mark. Q and the greater part of L are very different in contents from St. Mark. While they are mainly discourse St. Mark is mainly narrative. It is suggested that they are different and rarely overlap, because St. Mark was intended to be used along with Q and as a supplement to it. But it is just as possible that Q was meant to supplement St. Mark in the aspect in which it was deficient. And when we examine the few places in which they do overlap it seems as if St. Mark were the more primitive.

Thus the parable of the mustard seed was in both, and Q is preserved in St. Luke's version. There we find the addition that the man sows the mustard seed in his own garden—that is to say, the world into which the Kingdom is sown is already God's world. This looks like an embellishment, whether genuinely Christ's or not, of St. Mark's simpler form. So the "Beelzebub" paragraph, and the saying about salt run more smoothly and are more intelligible in the Q version. There are not enough instances to be conclusive, but so far as they go they favour our view more than Streeter's. And just as Q was intended to supplement St. Mark, so may Proto-Luke have been. Years afterwards it occurred

to St. Luke that he might do what St. Matthew does—and it is possible that St. Luke may have heard of St. Matthew's gospel, even if he had not seen it—and he wrote the full gospel to supersede St. Mark instead of being used along with it.

In one respect Proto-Luke differed from Q, for it contained a complete story of the Passion, which Q apparently did not. Now in this part of St. Luke the order of events is almost the same as in St. Mark, though with additions and omissions. Here and there he uses St. Mark's words, especially in reporting sayings of Christ. His omissions are like those found elsewhere. He softens the kiss of Judas into an offer to kiss Christ. Reverence shrank from recording the actual touch. In St. John the incident is omitted, and certainly not from any desire to spare Judas. The high priest's investigation is shortened and put, more probably, in the morning. The cry, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" is omitted, as perplexing to St. Luke's readers, though the context is given in St. Mark's words. Yet not only is the whole story on the same lines, but small points are preserved, such as that Pilate remonstrated three times with the crowd, and that the soldiers offered Christ vinegar to drink—in mockery, says St. Luke, though in St. Mark the mocking words were said to excuse a kindly deed. It is very difficult to believe, as Streeter does, that the verses in which St. Mark's language is used can be detached without injury to the context. Either St. Luke rewrote the Passion story when he inserted the Marcan matter, or he knew St. Mark before he drew up Proto-Luke, and in this section, in order to make the narrative complete, utilised it even in his first compilation. We are certainly at liberty to prefer the second alternative.

GOSPELS OF THE FIRST AND THE SECOND GENERATION

We can say, then, that a considerable interval of time separates both St. Matthew and St. Luke, at all events as we possess them, from St. Mark.

(1) St. Mark is biographical only in form, not in its real purpose. Even if he did not know of the Virgin Birth, a biographer would have wished to give something about the birth, the family, the birthplace, and the youth of his subject. St. Mark has nothing of this, although incidentally he shows that he was not quite ignorant of it. Nor does he attempt chronological order in the details as St. Luke does. The demand which he is supplying might be put into words as, "Tell us what Christ expects of us and how He helps us to live like Christians." The later Evangelists deal rather with the demand, "Tell us all you know about Christ, for we are interested in anything He said and did." Now this biographical interest must have arisen much later than the practical one.

(2) We have to make room for the compilation of Q, the language of which is more developed than St. Mark, and was used as an important source for the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke—and even for Proto-Luke if we accept that hypothesis.

(3) St. Matthew's treatment of the miracles shows a later and more artificial idea than St. Mark's of their place in Christ's mind and the effect which they produced.

(4) In other ways St. Matthew and St. Luke have a less natural and human thought of Christ. They are "embarrassed by reverence" as St. Mark was not. They do not like to think of Christ as sharing ordinary human ignorance, as when "He kept looking round to see her who had done this" (v. 32), nor would they have Him disobeyed even by evil spirits, or failing to

complete a miracle by one act or word, or unable to have what He wished, as in St. Mark's, "He entered into a house and wished that no one should know it, but He could not escape notice" (vii. 24). They shrink even from ascribing emotion to Him, though in this they are not absolutely consistent. Christ's pity for the leper (Mark i. 41), His anger and grief at the Pharisees' hardness of heart (Mark iii. 5), and His agitation when they asked for a sign (Mark viii. 12) are examples of their omissions. They do not report, "and Jesus beholding him loved him" (Mark x. 21), or the two occasions (ix. 36, x. 16) when He embraced children. When we consider that St. Matthew and St. Luke are in personal qualities as unlike as two authors can be, and write for quite different communities, we must attribute their agreement in the new reverence to the general atmosphere, the public opinion of their time, and we must suppose that St. Mark wrote, and found his wide acceptance, long before that time.

(5) The reverence felt for Christ extended in a measure to His first Apostles. The rather discreditable things which St. Mark tells of them were a difficulty to the other Evangelists. Yet, except St. Peter's denial and the selfish rivalries of the Twelve, they were not very serious, and imply no more than a slowness in understanding Christ and His teaching. St. Luke's story of St. John and St. James wanting to call down fire from heaven on an unfriendly village is worse than anything in St. Mark. What we are thinking of is not their omission of whole paragraphs, for often when one omits the other includes a story, and we cannot be sure that omission is for the sake of the Apostles' reputation. But in telling the story they tone down St. Mark's language. They could not leave out so well-known an episode as St. Peter's denial, but they could, and did, leave out his

cursing and swearing. St. Luke excuses their sleep in Gethsemane because of their sorrow. St. Matthew, but not St. Luke, tells of the ambitious request of St. John and St. James, but suggests that the motherly ambition of Salome instigated it. St. Matthew includes St. Peter's rebuke of Christ, but he adds particulars, and his "Be it far from Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee," shows the rebuke to be, after all, only the mistake of an alarmed love. Christ's calling St. Peter "Satan" is followed by, "Thou art an offence, or stumbling-block, to Me," and this shows that he is not Satan as an incarnation of evil, but as making the hard path of Christ still harder.

A series of passages give instances of the Apostles' spiritual dullness. Several of these, not in St. Luke, are retained by St. Matthew, as Mark vii. 18 and most of viii. 17-21, but in the second of these the worst clauses are omitted, and in the end he says that they understood. There is a similar happy ending at Matt. xvii. 13. Mark ix. 32 becomes in St. Matthew sorrow instead of misunderstanding. St. Luke, retaining St. Mark's words, explains that "it had been hidden from them that they might not perceive it." St. Mark reported, in iv. 13, "Do you not know this parable, and how shall ye understand all parables?" St. Luke omits the saying, but St. Matthew actually substitutes for it, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear." These and other examples show how constantly the later Synoptists minimise what was unsatisfactory in the Apostles.

When did the change of attitude towards them take place? Probably as soon as the unique privilege of the Twelve as Christ's companions was realised, as soon as their authority springing from it came to be contrasted with that of Christian teachers who did not possess it.

It is difficult to imagine that St. Mark's gospel, which is so frank about St. Peter's faults, was written after his martyrdom, and still less that it could then achieve popularity in the Christian Churches.

We are asked to believe that only some fifteen years separate the writing of St. Mark from that of St. Matthew and St. Luke. We postulate at least twice that interval. Either we must date the later ones somewhere at the end of the first century, or we must put St. Mark back to a far earlier time than the years 65-70, to which it is most commonly assigned. We are now about to give reasons which are conclusive for the second alternative. They depend upon traces in the epistles that St. Paul had a knowledge of St. Mark's gospel.

CHAPTER III

ST. MARK IN ST. PAUL

THERE is a *prima facie* difficulty in supposing that St. Paul's infant churches were left with no knowledge of the ministry of Christ. It is sufficiently surprising that, after perhaps only a few weeks' training, he could entrust them to the guidance of the more reliable of their own number. One would suppose that he himself would provide a regulative gospel if there were none in existence. Somehow the little isolated groups did preserve a common Christianity, and there are indications that the Apostle's doctrine included gospel narratives. He taught them about the Eucharist by reciting the narrative of its institution (1 Cor. xi.). His account of the Resurrection included several appearances of the risen Christ (1 Cor. xv.). Rendall suggests that the Galatians, "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified" (Gal. iii. 1), possessed a written document; but although it presented the Person of Christ crucified it may not have been a narrative of the events. Elsewhere St. Paul assumes a knowledge of the meekness and reasonableness of Christ (2 Cor. x. 1) and of His poverty for our sakes (2 Cor. viii. 9).

All this falls far short of proving the existence of a written gospel, and so also does St. Paul's teaching about marriage. Yet it is significant that in 1 Cor. vii. St. Paul distinguishes Christ's commandment from his own Spirit-guided opinions, and says that the former forbids the divorce and remarriage of a woman. This commandment does occur in Mark x. 12, though not in the other gospels. *χωρίζειν* occurs in the context in the gospel as in the epistle. St. Paul's doctrine of marriage in

Eph. v. is based on the primal law of Genesis, as that of Christ is in Mark x. 6-8.

What we are required to produce, however, is more than agreement in substance. To prove dependence there must be some similarity of language, and there is.

(1) In Mark xiv. 36 Christ's prayer in Gethsemane begins Ἀββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ. The use of an Aramaic word with its Greek equivalent is so characteristic of St. Mark that we must assume it to be original here. But St. Paul has the same phrase in two places. In Gal. iv. 6 we read, "Because ye are sons, God sent the spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father." In Rom. viii. 15 we read, "Ye received a spirit of adoption as sons, in which we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit Himself witnesseth with our spirits, that we are children of God." The commentators remind us that the Apostles were bilingual, and that Aramaic words passed untranslated into the Christian vocabulary, just as the Greek *Kyrie eleison* was used in later times in Latin liturgies. Maranatha is an example in St. Paul. But this explanation is insufficient. It does not account for the accompanying translation. Nor is there evidence that Abba was so used of God. Indeed, its free use of the clergy is some evidence to the contrary. Again, since in Galatians St. Paul is warning his disciples against the danger of Judaising, it would be inappropriate to insert gratuitously a reminder of their debt to the Jewish nation. Moreover, he does not suggest that they used the phrase vocally in their worship or elsewhere. What he says is that the Spirit of Christ does so in their hearts, and he apparently means that also in Romans. The argument is the same in both epistles. Through Christ and our union with Him we have received adoption as sons, and therefore our hearts, filled with the Spirit of Christ, turn to God with a consciousness of our filial relation.

If St. Paul were familiar with St. Mark's gospel everything becomes clear. Only twice in St. Mark does Christ address God. The cry from the cross, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" cannot be regarded as normal, for not only was the occasion unique and mysterious, but the words, being a quotation from a psalm, cannot be assumed to give us Christ's customary language. The invocation of the prayer in Gethsemane may, however, be taken as a characteristic form of address. St. Paul is therefore saying that Christ, or the Spirit of Christ, continues to cry in our hearts as He was accustomed to do on earth. It is His "Abba, Father" that ascends from our hearts. Indebtedness to St. Mark thus explains a difficulty in St. Paul's language, and explains why he uses it precisely when he deals with our inner consciousness of sonship. No other satisfactory explanation has been discovered.

(2) A similar difficulty occurs in 2 Cor. v. 1: "For we know that if our earthly house of the tabernacle be destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." The transference of the pronoun "our" to "tabernacle" shows that our English translators found a difficulty and dealt with it somewhat boldly. Σκῆνος, properly a tent, may by the same easy figure that St. Paul is using mean our bodily frame. Here, however, the original sense is full in view, even if the figurative one is also intended. The two bodies are contrasted in parallel phrases. Ἐπίγειος answers to ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, and τοῦ σκηνοῦς to αἰώνιον. But ἀχειροποίητον has no correlative, and could not have, because our present bodies also are not made with hands. The word virtually means spiritual, but wherever elsewhere it is used in the New Testament, the contrast with human handiwork is preserved.

Thus in Col. ii. 11 regeneration, the death and resurrection symbolised in baptism, is called a circumcision not made with hands in contrast with literal circumcision. In Heb. ix. 11 the heavenly temple in which our High Priest ministers is not made with hands in contrast with the humanly constructed tabernacle of the Mosaic law. In Mark xiv. 58 false witnesses accuse Christ of saying, "I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build another not made with hands." If this passage were in St. Paul's mind when he wrote to the Corinthians, we can see how ἀχειροποίητος occurred to him, although not strictly appropriate. The contrast in his mind is not really with our mortal body but with the σκῆνος, literally understood and representing the "temple made with hands" of the gospel saying. He changes the word in order to emphasise its temporary nature. Τοῦ σκήνου is an appositional genitive. If our earthly house, that shifting tabernacle, be destroyed, we have a building from God, a house (as the gospel says) "not made with hands," eternal in the heavens.

There are two facts in support of this reference to the gospel : (a) The word for destroy, καταλύω, is the same in both places ; (b) Οἰκοδομή is used, here only in St. Paul, of the concrete finished work. Elsewhere, if not used metaphorically of edification, it means the process of building, as in 1 Cor. iii. 9. The unusual word was suggested by οἰκοδομήσω in St. Mark, but St. Paul feels its unfamiliarity and in the next verse alters it to οἰκητήριον.

(3) Col. ii. 20-21. Why, as if living in the world, are you laying down rules, Touch not, taste not, handle not, things which all go to destruction in the using of them—"after the commandments and teachings of men"? Here the reference to the substance of Mark

vii. 1-23 is generally admitted. The quotation from Isa. xxix., natural enough as Christ used it, is only explicable here as a reminiscence of the gospel, since Isaiah was not dealing with ritual rules at all. That St. Paul quotes more correctly only means that he was familiar with the passage in the Septuagint. The previous clause recalls Christ's teaching that food cannot defile because it goes not into the heart but into the belly. The particular rules mentioned are such as those condemned by Christ. But it cannot be said that St. Mark's language is in any way reproduced.

We may observe, however, that in St. Mark we have : (a) a criticism by the scribes of the disciples' non-observance of traditions ; (b) Christ's criticism of the traditions as annulling the written law ; (c) His criticism of the particular tradition in question. And all these three seem to be present in St. Paul's mind. There is no reason to suppose that the whole passage existed as such anywhere but in St. Mark's narrative. Neither (b) nor (c) actually demands (a) as its occasion, nor need they really have been given on the same occasion, and indeed St. Mark suggests the contrary. Even if they were, it is unlikely that St. Paul would have received the whole as one oracle by merely oral reports.

(4) The argument of Christ's teaching about defilements is that human "tradition" must not be allowed to contradict Divine commandments. He definitely affirms the permanence and authority of the commandment to honour father and mother in such language as to suggest that the whole Mosaic law is permanently binding. At the same time He as definitely rejects the law of clean and unclean meats. St. Paul never made the distinction which our Anglican reformers did between binding moral laws and abolished ritual laws. It is, in fact, meaningless, since a moral law is simply

one to which our conscience assents, and thus its authority does not depend upon the Old Testament, but has already been decided in the decision that it is a moral law. But somehow or other he had to deal with Christ's championship of the law against tradition. If his opponents did not adduce it he had to satisfy his own mind.

This is the subject of Gal. iii. His argument is an extension of Christ's teaching. If tradition must not annul the law, neither must the law annul the promises. Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness. They that are of faith are his sons and are blessed with faithful Abraham. Therefore we receive the promise of the Spirit through faith, and not through keeping the law. This covenant, ratified beforehand by God in Christ, the law, 430 years later, does not annul so as to abolish the promise. The word for annul is ἀκυρώ, the same word as Christ uses in the Marcan passage, and found nowhere else in the New Testament (except in St. Matthew's parallel). The point is that an argument which Mark vii. 6-13 made necessary and may also have suggested, employs the same unusual word, and it is a key word for κεκυρωμένην in ver. 15 and προκεκυρωμένην in ver. 17 show how it occupied the writer's mind before he actually used it.

There is also a very curious verse, Eph. vi. 2, which indicates that the promise attached to the fifth commandment had for St. Paul a singular importance. "Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee and thou shalt last a long time in the land." The statement of the relative clause, translated as in the English versions, is untrue. It may mean that the commandment is pre-eminent, first in importance by virtue of its promise. Possibly it contains an early and now irremovable corrup-

tion. But in any case the promise is so interesting to St. Paul that he refers to it parenthetically and quite unnecessarily. If he had found occasion to ponder upon Christ's assertion of the permanence of the fifth commandment, and had based the Galatian argument upon it, he would also notice that it was not so much a commandment as the condition for receiving a promise—and in fact the same promise that was made to Abraham.

We shall not lay much stress upon this theory if we consider it by itself. But the facts which have to be taken in conjunction are curiously interwoven : (a) St. Paul did know from some source the contents of Mark vii. 1-23 ; (b) he did use in Galatians a parallel argument from the necessary self-consistency of Divine truth, and its rare key-word occurs in St. Mark ; (c) he does emphasise the promise attached to the fifth commandment in a way which would be quite natural if the Galatian argument and the Marcan passage had become associated in his mind.

(5) The evidence for St. Paul's knowledge of St. Mark's gospel, so far as we have gone, has been important as suggesting explanations of some of his obscurities. There is a second class in which we can see how an ordinary expression in St. Mark became the starting-point for a profound conception in St. Paul, or for the construction of that technical vocabulary which as a theologian he had to form. Almost every leading word of Mark i. 15 received development in his thought. Thus the simple statement "the time is fulfilled" became in Galatians, "when the fulness of time came," and years afterwards in Ephesians "a dispensation of the fulness of times." The reappearance of the phrase after so long an interval indicates that it became an abiding thought in the Apostle's mind. The commentators insist that St. Mark had no such great conception, which is perfectly true,

but does not prevent his words from being the seed of St. Paul's conception. It does make it improbable that St. Mark borrowed from St. Paul.

(6) Πωρόω and Πώρωσις occur in Mark iii. 5, vi. 52, viii. 17—the first instance referring to the stubborn opposition of the Pharisees, the others to the disciples' inability to receive spiritual truth. In each case the hardening is defined as of the heart, because it is still recognised as a metaphor from physical callus or cataract of the eyes. But in Rom. xi. 7 and 25 St. Paul uses it without any such addition as a technical term for the unbelief of Israel, a natural development of the gospel use. In Eph. iv. 18 the moral insensibility of the Gentile world is described as πώρωσις, but as it is not here technical τῆς καρδίας is added.

(7) Εὐαγγέλιον occurs several times in St. Mark, including prominent instances at i. 1, 14, 15. The four instances in St. Matthew (iv. 23, ix. 35, xxiv. 14, xxvi. 13) are derived directly or indirectly from St. Mark. (ix. 35 is a repetition of iv. 23 which combines Mark i. 14 and 39.) In three out of the four cases it is the "gospel of the kingdom," a set phrase such as St. Matthew is fond of in summaries, and one that keeps near to the original meaning. In St. Mark the word is used absolutely for the Christian message, or has the addition "of Christ" or "of God." It does not occur in St. Luke or St. John, and in Acts only in speeches of St. Peter and St. Paul (xv. 7, xx. 24). In the Pauline epistles it is developed with extraordinary richness and variety of meaning. Most naturally we conclude that the initial suggestion came from St. Mark.

(8) Κηρύσσειν, which in the gospels often accompanies εὐαγγέλιον, has a similar history. St. Matthew uses it mostly where he is indebted to St. Mark. From meaning "proclaim" it comes to be used of all preaching

without an expressed object, or with such objects as "Christ," "baptism," "circumcision." St. Mark's use is less varied and elastic than St. Paul's and St. Luke's.

(9) *Μυστήριον* is generally used in the plural of the religious "mysteries," and so of any religious rite. But besides this common use St. Paul has it in the singular of the one great mystery of the eternal purpose of God in Christ, already made known in Christ and in the Church, but still waiting for its complete revelation. This profound meaning is characteristic of the later epistles, but in 2 Thess. ii. 7 we find the more ordinary one from which it was developed. The "mystery of iniquity" is a force secretly working like a leaven, but destined to be revealed in the man of lawlessness. Now almost precisely the same sense occurs in Mark iv. 11, "To you has been given the mystery of the Kingdom of God." Here also the mystery is a secret leaven or force in men's hearts, or (to keep to the language of the context) a seed sown there and destined to become a harvest. "For there is nothing hidden unless that it should be revealed." St. Matthew and St. Luke both weaken the statement into "To you it is given to know the mysteries," changing also the singular into the commonplace plural. But in St. Mark the mystery is not merely made known to the disciples, but given to them as a possession. He is thinking not of dogmas but of a living power, a sown seed. Here again we get St. Paul's starting-point.

(10) A very curious phrase is St. Paul's description of unbelieving Jews as *οἱ κακοὶ ἐργαταὶ* (Phil. iii. 2). We cannot translate this by the compound "evildoers." For *ἐργάτης* does not mean a "doer" but a workman. "Wicked labourers" looks like a reference to Christ's parable of the wicked husbandmen.

We have still to examine the most convincing evidence that St. Paul was in possession of a written gospel—the

eschatological portions of Thessalonians. We are reserving these to the last, because they present us with an additional and interesting suggestion. The passages hitherto dealt with are in no single case conclusive, but taken together they have a cumulative force. Their nature rather than their number is impressive. Some of them account for obscurities in St. Paul which baffle the commentators. Others reveal the source from which he constructed his technical vocabulary and obtained a medium for the expression of his deepest thoughts. Either way the priority of St. Mark is indicated.

THE SOURCE OF ST. PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY

It will make for clearness in dealing with Thessalonians if we state the conclusions to which we shall be led. (1) The whole of the eschatological passages, 1 Thess. iv. 13-v. 11, and 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, is derived from the discourse which the Synoptic Gospels say that Christ delivered in Holy Week, except those details which St. Paul expressly claims as his own. The discourse was his one authority. (2) St. Paul possessed the discourse as a single document which contained most of what we now have in St. Matthew. (3) As this document cannot have been St. Matthew, and we shall give reasons against its being Q, we are left with two alternatives: either it was one no longer extant or elsewhere known, or else it was a longer form of St. Mark than ours. (4) We shall adopt the latter theory, that St. Mark has been abbreviated.

The object of the passage in the first epistle was primarily to reassure the Thessalonian church about their brethren who had fallen asleep. "The dead in Christ shall rise first" at His coming. This is the

point which was doubtful to them, but they knew already "in the word of the Lord" that Christ would descend from heaven, and the angels, the trumpet, the shout of command, the clouds, figure in his description very much as in St. Matthew, who alone mentions the trumpet. Then comes the remarkable statement that we shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. St. Matthew only speaks of a gathering together of the elect "from one end of heaven to the other." But St. Mark says it will be "from the end, or verge, of earth to the verge of heaven (xiii. 27). Understood literally this implies their being caught up from the earth exactly as St. Paul says, and neither in Jewish nor in Christian literature has any other origin been found for the strange idea.

Having provided for the consolation of his disciples St. Paul goes on to warn them against unpreparedness for the Parousia. The time of it they know to be unrevealed. The form of the opening words, *περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν*, echoes the corresponding ones of the discourse, *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας*. But the comparison with the thief in the night is not now found in St. Mark. St. Matthew has it, and also the reference to Noah's flood which underlies the next sentence in St. Paul: "When they are saying 'Peace' and 'Safety,' then sudden destruction comes upon them as birth-pangs on a woman with child, and they shall in no wise escape."

Ἀφνίδιος ὄλεθρος is a good phrase for the flood and *ὥδιν* occurs in Matt. xxiv. 8 in a similar sense. The consequent warning is, as in the discourse, that we should be watchful, but it passes over immediately into a call to sobriety: "For they that sleep sleep in the night; and they that are drunken are drunken in the night." The sudden transition is the same as in Matt. xxiv. 49, where the wicked servant, counting on his Lord's delay,

begins to eat and drink with the drunkards. The ending in St. Mark is different, but even there the watching porter is not the only servant, or in other words, we have other responsibilities besides watchfulness. St. Mark's ending looks like an abbreviation, not necessarily of what St. Matthew gives us, but of something to the same effect.

We see then that St. Paul echoes every leading thought of Matt. xxiv. 29-51, except the parable of the budding fig-tree. And everything in St. Paul is derived from the gospel discourse, except the one point on which the Thessalonians had gone wrong—the resurrection of the dead. On this subject St. Paul supplements “the word of the Lord.”

The second chapter of 2 Thess. is not so obviously dependent upon the gospel discourse as the parts of the first epistle already discussed. This is partly due to the more striking character of St. Paul's own contribution, partly because of secondary alterations in St. Matthew. The original Marcan passage, xiii. 9-13, has been previously used in Matt. x. 17-22 and therefore a shortened form of it has been substituted in xxiv. 9-14, with rearrangement of the clauses. That ver. 14 stood where it now does in St. Mark is clear because its first words, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, are still retained in Matt. x. 18. The false prophets, ver. 11, did not perhaps belong to the original at all, but are repeated from vers. 5 and 24. But we shall see that ver. 12, the apostasy, was in the source which St. Paul used. Immediately after it came the passage about the abomination of desolation. In St. Mark the masculine participle ἐστηκότα shows that the abomination was thought of by him as a person, and St. Paul, with the same reading, converts him into the man of lawlessness whose second title, the son of destruction, preserves the abomination “that maketh desolate.”

With the help of Jewish legends of Beliar or Antichrist, and especially of the original passage in Daniel from which the gospel imagery is derived, he pictures him seated in the holy of holies of the Temple as a supreme divinity. Since, however, this interpretation goes far beyond the discourse of Christ, he is careful to remind the Thessalonians that it is his own personal teaching given when he was with them.

We can now take the Thessalonian passage in order. Its debt to the gospel is revealed at the very beginning by a group of words recalling the language of the discourse. *θορόέω* occurs in Mark xiii. 7; *σαλεύω* in ver. 25; *ἐπισυναγωγή* represents *ἐπισυνάγω*, ver. 27. None of these words occur elsewhere in St. Paul. The signs of Christ's coming foretold in the gospel might, many of them, be regarded as fulfilled, but one certainly was not. "Because lawlessness has come to the full the love of the many will wax cold." *Πληθύνω* often means to abound or be multiplied, but then the context generally implies number. Here, if it only means that acts of lawlessness are very prevalent, a plural subject would be more natural. But the verb can also, indeed primarily, mean come to full size or development. In the only other place where St. Paul uses it, 2 Cor. ix. 10, it has this meaning. God will supply seed for sowing and bring it to full growth and increase the fruits. To translate "multiply," introduces a tautology. Quite legitimately and naturally, then, St. Paul says that lawlessness, already present as a leaven of evil or "mystery," is to reach its full development first of all in an apostasy as the gospel says. But the next verse is the one about the abomination, and in that especially the Apostle finds the perfection of lawlessness. It is important to notice that his argument is from the order of the gospel passages, and it shows that already the discourse contained the two

paragraphs, Mark xiii. 9-13 and 14-20, as we have them, and that already the discourse, really composite, was regarded as a single whole. Another instance follows immediately. The period of the abomination, in the gospel, is shortened for the sake of the elect. And the next paragraph describes the coming of Christ. Matthew's "immediately" is certainly original. Hence St. Paul infers that it is the Advent of Christ which destroys the abomination. Ἐπιφάνεια, we are told, need mean no more than "arrival," especially of a divine being, but here it must be intended to add something to παρουσία. Ἐπιφάνω is the verb used by St. Luke of giving light to those that sit in darkness, and in Acts of the shining of stars. Here it must echo Matt. xxiv. 27: "As the lightning comes forth from the east and shines (φαίνεται) right to the west, so shall be the Parousia of the Son of Man."

It appears then that this section of 2 Thess. is only less dependent upon the gospel than the earlier epistle, because St. Paul introduces more of his own inferences about the abomination, or man of lawlessness, and the reason that he has not yet arrived. No external source except the gospel is demanded. It is still more important that St. Paul must have possessed the whole discourse up to Matt. xxiv. 30 (Mark xiii. 26) as a single document, and from that point onward the references in the first epistle enable us to continue it.

VERSIONS OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

We must next notice that the Pauline source also underlies the version of the discourse in Luke xxi, which, however, is to some extent a paraphrase rather than a reproduction of it. As far as the 19th verse St. Luke is clearly using St. Mark and following his language as closely as he is accustomed to do. He says nothing about

the apostasy, but it does not follow that it was not in his St. Mark. Since for him the abomination is connected with the fall of Jerusalem, which had already occurred when he wrote, he could not but observe that nothing justifying so strong an expression had disgraced the Christian Church. But he goes as far as the facts warranted by enlarging the treachery of individual Christians. Not only parents and children, but brethren, relatives and friends are involved in it. At the exact place where the apostasy should have been mentioned it may be that he marks the omission by the insertion of an entirely different statement, "a hair of your head shall not perish," a recollection of Luke xii. 7. Vers. 20-24 give an interpretation of the abomination passage based on the accomplished facts and on St. Paul's teaching in the Epistle to the Romans. Yet as far as possible the original language is preserved. Notice ἐρήμωσις in ver. 20. Vers. 25-28 paraphrase the older description of the Parousia. The disturbances in the heavens are "signs," perhaps showing that St. Matthew's "sign of the Son of Man" was in the source. The distress of nations reproduces St. Matthew's "then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn." It is apparent, therefore, that St. Luke was using what we may call the Pauline document, and not only our St. Mark. Vers. 29-33 are as in the other gospels. The conclusion, vers. 34-36, contains the two warnings about unreadiness and drunkenness which St. Paul's version must have had. The language of ver. 34 may be coloured by a reminiscence of 1 Thess. v. 3, and so may ἐκφυγεῖν in ver. 36. The standing before the Son of Man suggests a servant parable, perhaps more like St. Mark's than St. Matthew's, but hardly confined to the porter's service. The whole chapter, then, apart from St. Luke's generally Pauline interpretations, is based on a source very like St. Mark, but cer-

tainly containing most of the Matthæan and not Marcan details which St. Paul also had.

The single source had of course some kind of previous history, and possibly included the Jewish "little apocalypse," of which much has been written. Q may have contained some of its matter independently. It is a priori probable that a discourse which made so strong an appeal to the primitive Christian mind was circulated as a separate leaflet. It is, however, extremely improbable that such a leaflet was the direct source of each of the synoptic versions and also of St. Paul's teaching. That implies that it was in existence before A.D. 50, and was still in circulation when St. Luke wrote, and that every one of our authors, deserting his customary methods of procedure, had recourse to it independently, each using it as his sole authority without admixture, and yet each interpreting it in his own way. Since we have found very strong reasons for assigning St. Mark's gospel to a sufficiently early date, it is far simpler to suppose that at that time it existed in a somewhat fuller form, and in that form was the basis for the other three.

To suppose that Q contained the whole of the discourse in the order of our texts, and as a single logion, is too improbable to be seriously considered. There is no evidence that St. Paul was acquainted with Q. Although St. Mark frequently has similar matter, and may perhaps have possessed a collection of Christ's teachings that can be called a version of Q, it was not the same version as the other Synoptists possessed. Where there is overlapping, St. Mark's language differs considerably from the common original of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Q passages. Moreover, the occurrence of portions of the discourse as isolated paragraphs in St. Luke points rather to their presence in Q as separate fragments, and therefore not also as a connected whole.

It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the original conclusion of the discourse in St. Mark. A comparison of the Noah passages in St. Matthew and St. Luke reveals a difference very much like that in their versions of the parable of the mustard seed. St. Luke, in both cases, is crisp and compact, while St. Matthew is more verbose. We may conclude that St. Matthew gives us the original Marcan form either as it stood or, more probably, conflated with a Q version preserved by St. Luke. But the servant parable in St. Mark is quite independent of St. Matthew's one about the stewards, which must have come from Q, since it is almost word for word the same as Luke xii. 42-46. Reminiscences of St. Mark may have coloured the opening sentences of St. Matthew's parable of the talents, but what has disappeared from St. Mark, as St. Paul and St. Luke show, must have been about drunkenness. Luke xii. 35-38, probably from Q, has a point of contact in the mention of the night watches. His meaningless detail that the master has returned "from the wedding" may be due to his copy of Q reading ΑΠΟΓΑΜΩΝ for ΑΠΟΔΗΜΩΝ, which would give a second point. But St. Mark's paragraph must have been considerably different from this Q one also, with references to bad as well as good servants. Yet the thief passage may have been attached to it, just as St. Luke has it attached to his Q parable.

The obvious question that anyone will ask is: What was the motive for shortening St. Mark's report? An examination shows that the omissions are all of a severe character. They include (1) the apostasy, (2) the distress of nations at the approach of Christ's advent, (3) the surprising of the Church. St. Mark retains the need of watching and warnings against unreadiness, but no suggestion that the warning will be unheeded, as in the thief simile and the unfaithful steward. St. Paul

already found the former a difficulty, for after quoting it he qualifies it by protesting that his readers were not "of the night," that they should be taken unawares. There is nothing left to suggest that the Parousia will be a "day of judgment." Now we may notice that the same development occurs in St. Paul's epistles. In Thessalonians he accepts both the traditional accompaniments like the trumpet, and the severe tone, especially in 2 Thess. i. The trumpet remains in 1 Corinthians, and the judgment in 2 Corinthians and Romans. But in the later epistles the Parousia is the time of the world's consummation, and of our perfection, and the severer elements disappear. A follower of St. Paul might, then, discard from the gospel those portions which had been discarded from the Apostle's teaching.

But the tendency is not confined to the Apocalyptic discourse. It determines also the treatment of the Baptist's ministry—the omission of the wrath to come, the axe at the root of the trees, the winnowing fan, the burning of the chaff. The omission is too exact to be accidental. For the other Evangelists say, He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and St. Mark drops just the last phrase which in the context implied judgment and punishment. It would simplify the problem very much if we suppose that the narrative in St. Matthew and St. Luke, so far as it is identical, was originally in Mark, and derived by them from him and not from Q. There is no particular likelihood that Q contained any account of the Baptist's teaching. Similarly, the Temptation may have been told at length by St. Mark, though the shortening of the rest of the prologue left it so out of proportion that it also had to be shortened.

We shall not expect to bring the matter to the test of linguistic peculiarities, since these would be obliterated by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Nevertheless, historic

presents and "ὅτι recitantis," both of which are Marcan characteristics, do occur. On the other hand διάβολος, used by St. Matthew and St. Luke, does not occur in St. Mark, but neither does it in Q. Both these use Σατανᾶς. Ποιεῖν καρπὸν (Matt. iii. 8) is not Marcan. He has διδόναι καρπὸν in viii. 7, 8, but the meaning is not quite identical. One example, however, is not decisive, and ποιεῖν κλάδους does occur (iv. 32).

If the hypothesis of a revision is accepted we may conclude that it was then that the parable of wheat and tares was dropped. St. Matthew's order points to its having been in his St. Mark. The seed growing secretly has been substituted for it, or perhaps constructed from the other by leaving out the tares. The language of the two had to be similar, but perhaps καθεύδῃ, βλαστᾷ, χόρτον, σίτος, καρπός, make a longer list than the necessity accounts for.

St. Mark's account of the Syrophenician woman is much less objectionable to Gentiles than St. Matthew's, and his picture of the children feeding the dogs with their own pieces is more gentle than St. Matthew's of the dogs foraging for accidental bits. But although revision of St. Mark is the more probable hypothesis, a contrary revision and expansion of St. Matthew is not impossible. Another case is very striking if the text is sound. This is St. Matt. xxi. 44 (St. Luke xx. 18). The agreement of the two against St. Mark may be the result of an omission from St. Mark, and since the stone is Christ, it is just the kind of statement which he would reject. But Streeter accounts for it as an assimilation.

The revision which is suggested is not a polishing of language, or a rewriting. It could be done by marking passages which a scribe was desired to omit. It need not have been made by St. Mark himself, though the

prevalence of the later form indicates that the shortening was made by someone with authority. It would account for the traditions that St. Mark was a later writing than St. Matthew, and that it was written at Rome—both statements being possibly true of the revised form. It would also account for the nickname *κολοβοδάκτυλος*, which Hippolytus applied to the Evangelist, and for the impossible idea that his work is an abbreviation of St. Matthew. It would be true to call it an abbreviation, and one which omits many details that are still in St. Matthew.

CHAPTER IV

THE DATE OF ST. MARK

THE dates which are assigned to the gospels in our older standard commentaries are in need of revision. It is commonly said that St. Mark was written a year or two after the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul in A.D. 65. St. Matthew cannot be much later than A.D. 70, and St. Luke is again not much, if anything, later than St. Matthew. So that about fifteen or twenty years cover the whole work. We have seen reason to believe that a much longer interval must separate St. Mark from the other two. The difference of tone, of attitude towards Christ and the Apostles, means that it was not written for the same generation as they were. Shall we then postpone St. Matthew until the last decade of the century? or shall we consider putting St. Mark twenty years earlier than has been customary? If it is true that St. Paul's epistles show traces of a dependence upon it, the second alternative is really forced upon us. In ancient times Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, dated the gospel A.D. 43. That has been treated with more or less contempt both by later tradition and modern scholarship. Yet Edmundson accepts it in his *Bampton Lectures on the Church in Rome*. Some writers who treat the gospel as a gradual growth are willing to accept the same date as that of its first stages. For us it is necessary to find a date for the gospel as we have it, or even in a rather longer form than ours. And we have to discover whether in that case it can have been written in A.D. 43.

ST. BARNABAS AT ANTIOCH

In Acts, chapter xi., we hear of the foundation of the Church of Antioch, distinguished from earlier ones by

the considerable Gentile element which it contained. As soon as its importance was realised the Apostles despatched Barnabas to take charge of it. His mission was not a temporary one, of inspection and report. Though we hear little of his work in Antioch, and much of his absences from it, he is from that time a churchman of Antioch. It is as their delegate that he twice visits Jerusalem. It is as the head of their enterprise that he goes on missionary journeys. His name stands first in the list of their clergy. In the short description of his labours among them we find him prominent in personal exhortations, but also providing for an increase of their ministry by bringing Saul from Tarsus. We are told nothing which prevents us from comparing him with the modern bishops of the democratic churches in British dominions. His missionary journeys are no more inconsistent with an episcopate at Antioch than were Selwyn's voyages in Melanesia.

St. Barnabas, with the responsibility for providing all things necessary for the spiritual welfare of Antioch, would confess to a serious disadvantage in comparison with his former experience at Jerusalem. He could not, as St. Peter and others could, enforce his teaching by personal reminiscences of Christ. He could not show his people how Christ dealt with situations parallel with their own, or preface an instruction with, Thus said the Lord. An appreciation of other men's powers, beautifully united with an entire absence of self-assertiveness, is the most conspicuous of St. Barnabas's qualities. He it was who went surety for the genuineness of St. Paul's conversion. He it was who recollected St. Paul's early successes as a Christian preacher and summoned him to Antioch. At a later time he refused to condemn St. Mark for one failure. In every case his judgment was the correct one and justified by its results. But in

every case also it was the venturesome one, involving considerable risk of failure.

We are beginning to see that at Jerusalem in the infant Church the cleavage between Hebrews and Hellenists was an important fact. The Hellenists were the radicals, the Hebrews the conservatives. The Sadducees again, the "law and order" party, were from the first hostile to Christianity; the Pharisees, the party of righteousness and religion, were disposed to watch it with not unfavourable interest. It was the radical preaching of St. Stephen that alienated the Pharisees. Now St. Barnabas was from the first a Hellenist, and in Antioch he had become associated with Greeks. Character, party, and environment conspired to lead him to a method of dealing with his problem, as consonant with Greek instincts as it was opposed to Jewish rabbinism. He invented the new method of a written gospel.

As usual St. Barnabas was able to discover and use the right instrument. The young cousin in Jerusalem, St. Peter's son in religion, at whose mother's house Christians assembled for worship, was the very man. Certainly his Greek was not perfect, but it would serve. The main point was that he could understand what was wanted and possessed the required information. The outcome was necessarily just what we have found the gospel to be. It is not, and was not intended to be, a biography, except in a general way and for the vitally important narratives of the Passion and Resurrection. It was a collection of incidents and teachings arranged on a homiletic basis to illustrate the education of Christians in their religion.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR AN EARLY DATE

The contents of the gospel are in harmony with the date assigned to it. Of course, if we distrust its state-

ments, if the miracles have been exaggerated, if the tomb of Christ was not found empty, if we prefer a modern theory of the character of Christ and the conditions of the early Church to the history which the New Testament gives, we shall need to separate the gospel more widely from the primitive preaching of St. Peter. But we are making no assumptions of that kind. On the hypothesis that the New Testament does not mislead us, we can find for most paragraphs of the gospel occasions for the preaching in which they were used, and for none of them is any later date demanded. The extension to Gentile lands is only suggested as a programme rather than an actuality. No hint is given which implies an advanced state in the organisation and worship of the Church. The teaching about defilements implies just that degree of liberty which was claimed by St. Peter in the case of Cornelius.

Three features point positively to the date we are supporting :

(1) The climax of the Apostolic career, as St. Mark sees it, is martyrdom, and that is conveyed by the prophecy that the sons of Zebedee are to drink of Christ's cup and be baptised with His baptism. In A.D. 43 the death of St. James fulfilled his share of the prophecy, and the recent event determined to that extent the shaping of the Gospel.

(2) Although in the Galilean crisis the figure of Herod Antipas stands constantly in the background, it is never made prominent. There is a desire to give the most favourable account possible of his relations with the Baptist. Although the leaven of Herod is mentioned, and the part played by Herodians is twice referred to, they are not insisted upon, and perhaps St. Mark was unaware that Herod was one of those who condemned Christ. The revolutionary spirit of the Galileans is

only hinted at. At the precise time when the gospel was written, Christian preachers would be on their guard against saying anything that would report former hostility between Herod and Christ, or lead to an impression of present hostility. For Herod Agrippa was showing himself quite ready to become a persecutor.

(3) On the other hand, in spite of his persecution, Agrippa had recently earned the gratitude of all Jews, whether Christians or not, and brought some temporary lustre to his disgraceful family. He had displayed courage in his remonstrances against the order of the Emperor Caius that his image should be set up in the Temple. During the months of suspense, while this outrage was threatened, Christian Jews would be the more agitated because its accomplishment would be to them the final sign that the Parousia of Christ was near. The prophecy would be constantly on their lips. Hence comes its unique prominence in St. Mark's gospel. Although no other long discourse of Christ is given, this one is reported at length, and more fully, we have seen, in the first edition than in our present one. But a Pauline Christian in A.D. 65 would hardly have attached the overwhelming importance to it which St. Mark obviously does.

To these features we may add that, if the gospel was written after St. Peter's escape from prison and withdrawal from Jerusalem, we can understand why St. Mark did not apparently consult him about the order of events, and how he apparently fell into certain errors—regarding the connection of the Last Supper with the Passover and the soldiers who took part in the mockery. This has been taken to imply that he wrote after St. Peter's death, and it is interesting to see that our date supplies us with another satisfactory explanation.

If St. Mark had already written his gospel when he

met St. Paul, some light is thrown upon his subsequent history. St. Barnabas and St. Paul visited Jerusalem in A.D. 46, bringing offerings from Antioch for the relief of the famine there. According to Ramsay's view, which seems to be winning acceptance with scholars, they already contemplated their missionary journey. We can understand then why on their return they took with them "John whose surname was Mark." He was to vouch for their gospel book, and to supplement its narratives as occasion might require. He is described on the journey as their ὑπηρέτης, which, it is true, might mean any sort of subordinate official or even, though less probably, a personal attendant. But it is interesting that St. Luke uses ὑπηρέτης for the ministers of the word who were the authorities for his own gospel, and also for the chazzan or synagogue officer who had charge of the sacred writings.

St. Paul regarded St. Mark, who was an authority on Christ's earthly career, as important for the success of the enterprise, and hence we can understand the lasting indignation with which he regarded his desertion. Everything, therefore, that we know of St. Mark is in harmony with our date for his gospel.

The so-called "Acts of Barnabas" is a late and manifestly unhistorical book, but it contains traces of a true tradition supplementary to that of the New Testament. One curious statement is that St. Mark refused to go inland from Pamphylia, because he wanted them "to sail to the regions of the West." Now from the Acts it is probable that just at this time he began to use the Latin name Marcus instead of the Hebrew "John." So there is a possibility that he really did look Romewards just then. The apocryphal book tells us that St. Paul's great grievance against him was on account of his keeping several parchments in Pamphylia, which looks like a

distorted memory of the part he really played in the expedition. When he afterwards went with Barnabas to Cyprus, the book makes much of "documents from Matthew, a book of the word of God, and a narrative of miracles and doctrines." When the "Acts of Barnabas" was written it was believed that Matthew was the earliest gospel, and it was natural to attribute to him these early documents. But if for "Matthew" we read "Mark" there may be a good deal of truth in the story.

WEAKNESS OF TRADITIONAL VIEW

We must now consider how the prevalent belief about the date of the gospel arose and see whether there is evidence for it which makes our date impossible.

First, we have the statement of Papias, towards the middle of the second century. His information is from the Elder John, who was a personal disciple of Christ Himself. This man is thought by some to be the Apostle John, by others to be a leader of the Church at Ephesus, or possibly at Jerusalem. And those who refuse to attribute the Fourth Gospel to the son of Zebedee, often believe that it was written by this other John the Elder. In any case, he is a prominent Church leader and contemporary with St. Mark, so that his witness is as reliable as we could desire. He says that St. Mark wrote accurately, but not in (chronological) order, and that the reason is that he obtained his information piecemeal from St. Peter's sermons. For he was St. Peter's interpreter. By interpreter Papias understands "translator," for in another passage he uses the corresponding verb in saying (inaccurately) that St. Matthew was written in Hebrew and everyone translated it as he could. Modern writers have supposed that St. Mark travelled about with St. Peter, acting as an interpreter for him, because the Apostle was not able to preach in Greek. This is

really improbable, first, because St. Peter is unlikely to have been ignorant of Greek, and secondly, because, if he was, he could have found a much better interpreter than St. Mark, whose Greek is far from perfect. But in our view the gospel was itself the interpretation—the translation into Greek of extracts from the sermons which St. Peter preached in Jerusalem and therefore in Aramaic. We must translate the Elder's words, "Mark, becoming the translator of Peter, wrote accurately, but not in order." This is on every ground more satisfactory than the usual view.

Next we come to the statement of Irenæus about A.D. 170, that St. Mark's gospel was written after the departure, which means the death, of St. Peter and St. Paul. But twenty years later Clement of Alexandria says that it was written during St. Peter's lifetime, and Eusebius, who is of course much later but had access to many early writings now lost, fixes A.D. 43 as the date. The external witness is therefore uncertain and contradictory. Irenæus shows himself in the context unreliable, for he repeats Papias' idea that St. Matthew was written in Hebrew, and he starts the quite impossible theory that it was written before St. Mark. Moreover, he is full of the idea that the gospels preserve for future generations the teaching of the Apostles, and it was easy for him to assume that this was the purpose with which they were written, and therefore that there was no call for them so long as the Apostles were alive.

We may without compunction prefer the other old authors to Irenæus. But we cannot follow Clement when he says that the gospel was written in Rome. By his time the legend that St. Peter went to Rome about A.D. 42 and stayed there to the end of his life as "bishop," was becoming the common belief, and that St. Mark was written there follows as a matter of course.

There is really no other basis whatever for this hypothesis, which nevertheless is accepted to-day as if it were a known truth. If indeed St. Mark was written just after A.D. 65, it can appeal to the references in the New Testament which show that its author was in Rome just before that date ; but if it was not, his visit to Rome then has no bearing upon our problem.

ATTEMPTS TO CONNECT THE GOSPEL WITH ROME

Recent writers make some feeble attempts to show that the internal evidence of the gospel agrees with a Roman origin. The Latin words which occur in it, like *centurio* and *speculator*, are acknowledged to be inconclusive, for they are all words that would readily pass into the colloquial language of the provinces, and in fact they are found in writers belonging to the east who had no connection with Rome. But Rawlinson thinks that underlying the gospel there is a sense of the danger of persecution, and that this is due to the recent Neronian persecution at Rome. Supposing him right about the atmosphere, it does not follow that it is due to Nero. We, looking back across the centuries, see Nero as a great persecutor and Herod Agrippa as a very small one. But if we were in St. Mark's position we should judge differently. A little persecution looks big enough when you live in the midst of it. If one of your leaders has just been put to the sword, if your own particular idol and father in the faith had only escaped by a miracle and is still in hiding—it is not surprising if your book shows something of the apprehension which fills your mind.

Streeter and others have been infected with the attractive guess that our four gospels preserve the tradition of the four leading centres of early Christianity. St. John pretty certainly does emanate from Ephesus. St. Luke may come from Cæsarea, for while St. Paul was

two years in prison there we can imagine his companion hanging about in the vicinity, and picking up information from St. Philip the Evangelist and others. St. Matthew is, with less certainty, representative of Antioch. And therefore St. Mark's Roman origin has been accepted without question, because it completes the theory! Now this is simply a yielding to the spirit of our age, which is dominated by a Darwinian view of evolution. We tend to think of history as the outcome of imperceptible but all-prevailing forces: instead of great leaders guiding its course, we think of leaders as the embodiment of popular movements, prevalent ideals and so on. Luther is not the cause but the product of a reformation that his time demanded and created. The Kaiser Wilhelm II was the creature of militarism, not its champion. In the same way the gospels are the product of the general Christianity of the first century, and their various emphases on different aspects reflect the special characteristics of different regions.

There is, of course, a measure of truth in all this, but the particular form which the theory takes has still to be proved. Great leaders affect their followers, even more than their environment affects them. St. John, meaning the author of the Fourth Gospel, created the Ephesian form of Christianity, even though he could not have created it in an entirely different community such as Jerusalem. St. Barnabas may well have had the influence we attribute to him. It is most unlikely that St. Mark's gospel represents the whole gospel of any church; at all events, the one very early Roman document which we possess, the Epistle of St. Clement, quotes a version of the Sermon on the Mount, but shows no signs of depending on a Marcan form of gospel. There, as elsewhere, the discourses of Christ, which St. Mark almost passes over, were prominent in Christian thought.

An exaggerated form of the modern error is found in B. W. Bacon's *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?*, a book frequently quoted and apparently somewhat uncritically accepted by recent writers. Bacon, however, starts with a presupposition that the contents of the gospel are unreliable, which necessitates a denial of St. Mark's authorship and of St. Peter as the real source of it. This leads him to a confessed difficulty. "This remarkable fact, that the non-apostolic Greek Gospel of St. Mark should by A.D. 100 have attained a currency and standing so completely dominant as to determine for all subsequent time the standard outline of Jesus's career is of enormous significance" (p. 39). The dominance is of course proved by the way it is used by the other Evangelists, and therefore in our view was attained at an even earlier date than Bacon says. When the longer Synoptic Gospels appeared, they more or less superseded St. Mark for a while, so that second-century writers show no special predilection for it. The correction of its Greek by the others "shows plainly enough how his uncouth and barbarous idiom was regarded." Hence Bacon is "at a loss to account for its dominant position," unless it "emanated from some centre of very great authority and importance." Even if we grant that, it does not follow that Rome was the only possible centre.

Bacon excludes Alexandria in the absence of any supporting tradition, and Antioch and Ephesus because they have gospels of their own. But they had no other gospel at the time when St. Mark obtained its dominance, and the gospels which did become specially theirs imply a previous knowledge of St. Mark. There is nothing at all in Bacon's argument inconsistent with Antioch being the important centre from which St. Mark was disseminated. But it is probable that the authority of St. Peter, already attached to it, had more to do with its

acceptance than the Church from which it sprang. It is at all events treated as of far greater importance by all early writers. The tradition that the gospel was written in Rome does not go farther back than Clement of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius, but that of authorship goes back to the practically contemporary Elder in Papias. As Bacon himself says, "Unfortunately the tradition regarding the provenance of Mark gives strong indications of being later in origin than the tradition regarding its authorship and (approximate) date, and seems to be in part, if not wholly, the fruit of early conjecture" (p. 12). It only appears in fact when the Church was beginning to believe that St. Peter settled in Rome from A.D. 42 onwards, from which the Roman origin of St. Mark was a very natural inference. Tradition earlier than Clement of Alexandria can only be made to support Bacon's view by ignoring every item in it which really exists, and emphasising every point which Bacon thinks must have existed without leaving any record—including the conclusion which he seeks to prove.

The internal evidence against St. Mark's authorship and a Palestinian origin is equally inconclusive. The most plausible argument is based on its undoubted use of the Septuagint. But is it impossible that a Hellenist in Jerusalem, writing for a Greek Church, should use the Septuagint? The first Christians needed copies of the Old Testament in order to develop the argument from the fulfilment of prophecy which appealed to them so strongly. We know of no Aramaic translation then extant. But the Greek one must have been easily obtained, and was probably the least expensive form in which to possess the scriptures. Evidence in support of this view is not obtainable, but at least we may not without evidence make the contrary assumption.

It is much more important that the author of St.

Mark's Greek thought in Aramaic and was certainly not a Latin- and Greek-speaking Christian of Rome. The language, says Bacon, is "naïvely and crudely Semitic, whereas that of St. Matthew and St. Luke has been reduced to a literary type of its own with Septuagint Greek for a model" (p. 52). He can only account for it by supposing that the gospel is based upon Aramaic notes and memoranda preserved and translated in Rome. This would not account for its difference from the other Evangelists, who also used memoranda originally Aramaic. It is, in fact, the writer himself, and not his sources, who possessed a Semitic mother-tongue. Detailed criticisms are equally futile. If the fourth word from the Cross shows a faulty transliteration into Greek, that may indicate an imperfect knowledge of Greek, just as well as of Aramaic. If the explanations of Jewish customs and Aramaic words are unnecessarily full, that does not indicate a foreign origin, but rather that the author is writing for people whom he does not know, and upon whose knowledge he does not wish to count. It is very natural if our own theory is correct and difficult to explain otherwise.

St. Mark is accused of geographical errors, and the accusation is partly true. Taken as it stands the gospel speaks of a journey from Tyre twenty miles north to Sidon and thence to the sea of Galilee through the midst of Decapolis and afterwards, via Dalmanutha and Bethsaida, to Cæsarea. If we abandon the error that St. Mark's order is chronological we are not really tracing a journey at all. Still, St. Mark's language does imply ignorance of the relations of the places he names. Why should not a Jerusalem Jew be ignorant of them, seeing that he had probably never visited the northern districts? He knew names by hearsay but, especially in the absence of maps, how could he avoid being hazy about

the routes from one to another. Gerasa, we are told, could not be the scene of the swine miracle. St. Mark does not say it was. He calls the whole country the region of the Gerasenes, after its chief city, and says that the miracle was reported in the city (Gerasa, it may be) and the hamlets in the neighbourhood. St. Mark is blamed for calling Bethsaida a village, whereas Bethsaida Julias was a city, the southern capital of Philip's kingdom. The ancients know nothing of "Bethsaida Julias," a name invented in modern times. They speak of "Julias," which in one place Josephus says was on the site of an old Bethsaida. He is probably wrong, since it is too far from the lake ever to have been called Bethsaida. If there was a Bethsaida in the neighbourhood and still existing, it was, as St. Mark says, a village. It is more likely that the Bethsaida of the first century was on the Galilean side of the lake close to Capernaum. Yet the existence of two places so called is as possible as our own "Fisherman's Point," and "Fishermen's Bend," both in Port Phillip.

We shall think little of St. Mark's errors regarding the relationships of the Herod family. They were not easily remembered. If St. Mark calls Antipas a king instead of a tetrarch, Bacon makes the same mistake when (p. 63) he speaks of "the Southern metropolis of Philip's kingdom." Bacon says that Machaerus was a lonely frontier fortress, but Josephus speaks of the great city which Herod built there and its magnificent palace and elaborate water-supply (B.J., vii. 6, 2).

Nobody has discussed the Roman tradition with greater fulness and more minute learning than Bacon. The inconclusiveness of his argument is a witness to the weakness of the case he is defending.

CHAPTER V

THE PASSION AND RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD

THE Fourth Gospel, unlike St. Mark's, does not leave us to discover for ourselves the purpose of the Evangelist. He says plainly : "Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples which are not written in this book : but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name." To describe the purpose as apologetic would suggest a too narrowly intellectual interest, for he aims at more than conviction in his readers' minds. He would develop in them a personal attitude towards the Son of God, which will be their eternal life. Dr. Streeter is right in saying that the gospel "belongs neither to History nor to Biography, but to the Library of Devotion," though that does not justify him in comparing it with the Confessions of Augustine or the Imitation of à Kempis.

The first result of such a purpose in St. John's mind is obviously, as he says, a selection of those narratives, "signs" as he calls them, which throw light upon the Person of Christ and, since we reveal ourselves most plainly by our words, there will be emphasis upon His sayings and discourses. But although for this reason the book is not to be regarded as a complete history, it does not follow that it is not historical. It can only truly portray the Person if it truly reports what He said or did. It is vitally important that we should be able to regard it as an authority for the life of Christ, so far as that is treated, equally with the Synoptic Gospels. It confesses to regarding Him from one angle, but within

its limits it should be reliable. Much modern criticism attempts to set it in opposition to the Three, so that we may be forced to choose between them. In particular it is said that the Synoptic Christ cannot be the same Person as the Johannine Christ. That raises a difficult question, into which subjective elements inevitably enter very largely.

Before we attack it, it will be well to consider the easier problem, whether the events narrated by St. John are consistent with those in the Synoptic Gospels. We shall learn to what extent the author acknowledges himself to be restrained by the external facts of the history, and how far he allows himself to manipulate them so that they will subserve his conception of the Son of God. In doing this we shall begin by a detailed study of the closing narratives, because here the four gospels are more continuously in contact and a detailed comparison is possible. We shall provisionally assume that our Evangelist knows the Gospel of St. Mark, but that possibly he does not know those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. This represents a fairly general opinion of present criticism, though his knowledge of St. Luke is at least a possibility to be discussed.

THE ARREST

St. John tells nothing of Christ's prayer in Gethsemane, although he lets us know that the approaching Passion filled His soul with shrinking and dismay : " Now is my soul troubled ; and what shall I say ? Father, save me from this hour " (xii. 27). The agony is there, though less impressively dwelt upon, and the resignation which emerged from it inspires the words which follow His arrest, " The cup which My Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it ? " (xviii. 11). The agony is the same,

but while St. Mark makes it a sharp but short crisis, St. John suggests an abiding "trouble" which, at times, as when the Greeks wished to see Him, forced itself to outward expression. Instead of repeating what St. Mark has written, he gives another example, and that is characteristic of him. In his story, as in St. Luke's version of Gethsemane, the time of stress is a time of communion with Heaven, though the voice comes audibly for the sake not of Christ but of the bystanders. There is a point of contact here between St. Luke and St. John, but no dependence in either direction.

St. John's story of the arrest tells of a band of soldiers, lanterns, and torches, and Christ's surrender of Himself to His enemies. The "band" is, properly speaking, a regiment, and their chief captain is the equivalent of our colonel. They were stationed at Jerusalem for such work as the Sanhedrin would represent the arrest of Jesus to be. There would be a strong force of soldiers, for it was desired not to overpower resistance, but to make resistance impossible. There must be no risk of a tumult, since Christ was to be arrested without the populace hearing of it. But that the whole cohort was there is doubtless an exaggeration, and it marks the presence of the narrator, as also the mention of the lights does. Suddenly, amid the dark shadows of the garden, lanterns and torches blaze out, and their light gleams upon weapons and armour. The place seems full of soldiers. What wonder if to St. John it seemed as if the whole cohort was there? It is not the mistake of a romancer, but the impression of a terror-stricken eyewitness. Many historical parallels have been found for the consternation of the soldiers in face of the dignity of Christ. The story rings true, but it is not told in order to impress us with Christ's superhuman power, and the

voluntariness of His surrender. For St. John says that to him it meant something quite different. Christ was displaying His ever-watchful, ever-effectual love for His disciples, fulfilling His words, "Of those whom Thou gavest Me I have lost none." To say that so great a saying was fulfilled in a small act of almost commonplace thoughtfulness is, as we shall see, entirely Johannine.

The kiss of Judas is not mentioned. This is not from a desire to spare Judas, whom St. John treats more severely than the others do. It may be simply that he had nothing to add to St. Mark's account. But from the order one would judge that he did not notice Judas until Christ stepped forward. Perhaps, with his eyes on the soldiers and his mind full of consternation, he did not see the kiss, and is doubtful about it. Perhaps he shrank from recording the touch of the traitor as an insult to Christ. In St. Luke also, Judas went forward to kiss Him, but the kiss seems not to have been actually given. Here again there is contact between St. Luke and St. John without any literary dependence. They seem to possess a similar tradition.

St. Peter's impulsive attack on the high priest's servant is mentioned by all four Evangelists, though only St. John names the Apostle and the servant. St. Mark leaves the incident without any satisfying conclusion, and the others complete it independently. St. John, who uses St. Mark's language as far as it goes, makes no use of St. Matthew or St. Luke, and here at all events seems to be ignorant of them. In general sense he is nearer to St. Matthew, and his independence of St. Luke makes it unlikely that he took from him the detail that the "right" ear of Malchus was cut off. But neither can we say that St. Luke borrows from him, since elsewhere he makes the same addition to his authority (v. 16).

BEFORE CAIAPHAS

St. John adds to St. Mark the humiliating detail that Christ was bound and remained bound during the high priest's enquiry. The others reserve it until after His condemnation. This is in conflict with the supposition that he wishes to emphasise the voluntariness of the Passion. Then he tells, for no imaginable reason except a love of accuracy, that Christ was led first to Annas. He is perfectly clear that Caiaphas, and only he, was High Priest, and therefore Caiaphas is intended in the references in vers. 15-23. After this he makes good an omission, "So Annas sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest." The picture in his memory of Christ defenceless against blows brings His bonds to mind, and he records resentfully that Annas had not released Him. We would have used a past perfect tense, but St. John would not (cf. iv. 45, etc.). Ἀπεστάλκει would have meant in a New Testament writer something like "had entrusted Him with a mission."

Actually, the enquiry before Caiaphas is omitted. We hear nothing about the presence of any of the council, the seeking for witnesses, Christ's quotation from Daniel, the general condemnation. The enquiry which St. John reports is developed from what St. Mark represents Christ as saying in the garden, that they should have taken Him as He taught in the Temple instead of hunting Him like a criminal. St. Luke sees the impropriety of addressing such words to mere servants, the instruments of others, and brings the chief priests and elders to the garden. St. John, more probably, transfers the whole to the house of Caiaphas. He develops it so that it explains the silence of Christ which St. Mark mentioned without explanation, and shows that it was not a stubborn sulkiness, but a reasonable dignity,

as no doubt it was. He gives us the mind of Christ whether the words are His or not. There is no parallel here between St. John and the Synoptists, but a characteristic correction of St. Mark's order.

ST. PETER'S DENIAL

St. Mark's account of St. Peter's denial had two or three obscurities. We need not include the double cock-crowing. It reveals the narrator who knew the countryside and life in the open-air. Like R. L. Stevenson (*Travels with a Donkey*) he knew that hour after midnight when all things stir in their sleep and the cocks crow, as well as at the second time before dawn. And he fixed the denial as before the second and better-known cock-crowing. It is not so certain that St. Mark understood his informant. He does seem to think that a cock crows once and then is silent for an hour—which is not so. The more important difficulties are, how was it that St. Peter got into the court-yard at all? Why did the maid guess that he was a disciple and not a servant of one of the rulers or a curious stranger? Why did she persist in her accusation? The last of these the other Synoptists dispose of by denying it, but in that way they make it a general guess that St. Peter was a disciple, and so multiply the other problem.

St. John makes everything clear. The other disciple entered first with confidence, being known to the high priest. He really only knew the servants, but that is the way our tradesmen speak of us. He took his place with the servants at the fire. He knew Malchus by name, and that another of them was his kinsman. He knew the girl at the door and she knew him. Being a talkative person, especially to men, she knew that he had become a disciple of Christ. The other disciple, whom we will call St. John for short, discovered that his

companion had not followed him in. He went out and spoke to the girl for him. St. Peter's hesitation already shows his state of nervousness. The girl, being talkative, cannot let him pass without the surmise, "You also were possibly with this Nazarene, Jesus," and St. Peter, taken unawares, denies it. Presently he goes out to the porch. St. John, who stayed by the fire, tells us nothing of the second denial, especially as he can count three without it. The maid is there again because she is portress, and we need no explanation of the men hanging about in her vicinity. It is to them that she says, "This man also is one of them." It was only said to tease him, to draw him into her circle, to begin a flirtation perhaps. Back again at the fireside the men who had heard her chaffing all set on St. Peter, and St. John notices one in particular, kinsman of Malchus, dangerously observant, who says, "Did I not see thee in the garden with Him?"

Thus St. John's account enables us to make St. Mark's live, and to detect the weakness of the secondary stories. Yet it cannot have been intended to do so, since it gives an independent account based on what the other disciple saw, and not always the same as St. Mark's. The two complete each other because they are both true. We have, in fact, the stories of the two chief actors, each speaking from his own point of view. St. John, it will be seen, may be not the Evangelist, but a witness known to him, just as St. Peter was to St. Mark. But in that case would not the Evangelist have combined his two authorities? We cannot say that the Fourth Gospel would have included St. Luke's clause, "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter," if the Evangelist had known it. He seems to tell only what he knew at first-hand. Yet we shall bear in mind the omission as an instance telling against a knowledge of St. Luke.

BEFORE PILATE

The accounts of the trial of Christ before Pilate enable us to fix decisively the value and mutual relations of the four gospels. We may approach it through St. Mark, whose twenty verses fall into four paragraphs. There is first (xv. 1-6) Pilate's attempt to hold an ordinary trial. The second paragraph (7-10) gives the Barabbas episode. The third (11-15) is the demand for crucifixion to which Pilate yields. The fourth (16-20) tells of the scourging and mockery.

(i) To St. Mark's brief summary St. Matthew has nothing to add. But St. Luke amplifies it considerably. He was able to infer from Pilate's question that the chief priests accused Christ of saying "that He Himself was Christ, a King," and that carried with it a desire to withdraw the people from their Roman allegiance—"forbidding them to give tribute to Cæsar." Further, the popular excitement had begun in Galilee, and this was necessarily mentioned, for if Pilate asked for evidence nothing was forthcoming except that movement which St. John speaks of as a desire to make Christ a King by force. Without perhaps knowing as much as St. John, St. Luke had some general knowledge of it, though his only reference to it is the incidental mention of Herod's intention to kill Christ (St. Luke xiii. 31). St. Luke also makes Pilate confess that he finds no fault in Jesus, but this was plainly his attitude in St. Mark's account from ver. 9 onwards. There is no need to suppose that St. Luke had any authority except St. Mark and his own general knowledge and powers of inference. It would appear that he allows himself to construct such a speech as must have been made.

But from St. John a number of new details are obtained.

(a) The trial was, contrary to custom, in the open-air.

This is in harmony with the presence in the Synoptists of a crowd who show a good deal of freedom in their interference, and develop "a mob psychology," which implies considerable numbers. The reason which St. John gives is a sufficient one, and the exceptional procedure is credible, since Josephus gives another instance in which (for a very different reason) Pilate adopted it. (b) The council attempt to obtain a condemnation to death on their own sentence of guiltiness. From the Synoptists we learn that in the end they succeeded, and that even after Pilate had openly declared Jesus innocent. They had good grounds for their hope, since Pilate's character was such that he might be ready to condemn easily, and since the charge they brought was so seriously viewed by the Romans that it was only with some danger to himself that a governor could dismiss it. The only safeguard a supposed traitor had in the provinces was the support of the native authorities, and in this case they were the accusers. (c) St. John also records a private conversation between Pilate and Christ. Christ, say the Synoptists, did not plainly deny the charge of calling Himself a king. "Thou sayest" was hardly pleading guilty, but it came near to it. It meant, "It is not a word I would have myself chosen," or perhaps, "If rightly understood I cannot wholly deny it." How then could Pilate find no fault in Him or even continue the trial? There must have been an explanation, and in substance it must have been what St. John says—a statement that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world and did not use force for its establishment. That the conversation ended as St. John says, and that it was in private, depend on his sole witness, but without something of the sort the synoptic narrative is incredible.

(ii) Although we have no other evidence that Roman governors used to grace the Passover by the release of a

popular prisoner, it is not so remarkable that we need question it. Wherever arbitrary imprisonment, often for political reasons or even personal ill-will, has been allowed, such a custom has been found to make the path of a governor more smooth. But a Roman governor could not permit a serious trial to be interrupted by an unruly and irregular demand for the boon, and that is what St. Mark asserts. St. Matthew sees the difficulty, and solves it by making the governor take the initiative, but since the essence of it was that the people should make the choice, that easy solution must be rejected. The real one is given by St. Luke. Pilate, hearing that Christ came from Herod's province, sent Him to Herod, and therefore the court must have been adjourned. Thus an opportunity was given for the popular request. It may have been started by sympathisers with Christ, for there are always weak minds ready to get out of a difficulty by compromise. Since Pilate narrows the choice to "Jesus or Barabbas," the two names must have been shouted, and apparently he was unable to decide which had the more support. The decision was not made till later, and the adjournment gave the chief priests time to persuade the crowd to ask for Barabbas, a statement in St. Mark which is otherwise inexplicable. St. John compresses the whole Barabbas episode into two sentences, which he places at its first introduction. This treatment probably expresses its real insignificance, and is more in accordance with facts than the Synoptists' emphasis.

Accepting St. Luke's information, we are able to make the narrative self-consistent. But to suppose that Pilate tried to throw the responsibility of the trial upon Herod is not rational. It does not agree with his known character, into which that kind of weakness does not enter. Nor, probably, could he legally do it, since the

charge included offences "in this place." "He belonged to Herod's jurisdiction" cannot mean that Pilate had no authority over Him, but simply that Christ was a Galilean. The abstract is acquiring a concrete meaning—the place or persons ruled—like the Latin *provincia* (cf. Luke iv. 6 ; Mark xiii. 34). The supposition does not account for the sequel. Herod does not try Christ, and either condemn or release Him. He sends Him back dressed up in a way that suggests an opinion about Him, and instead of Pilate being disappointed or angry the incident brings about a reconciliation. We must suppose that Herod's action was satisfactory to Pilate, and therefore that what Pilate desired was a report on the case. Herod was pleased to be asked for a report, because it signified that he knew his domain and that his judgment was sound. Pilate was pleased with the report, because it tallied with his own opinion.

The gorgeous robe was the symbolic expression of the report, of which we can easily conjecture the gist. "A year-ago Jesus contemplated a revolution, and was really dangerous. He fled to avoid arrest, and by so doing lost His opportunity. His followers have mostly left Him. We can afford to laugh at Him, for He has not the right spirit to make a successful leader of rebellion." Pilate had already judged Him to be a religious visionary, naturally obnoxious to the chief priests and scribes, but not dangerous to the State. Yet the report, like the robe, indicated kingly claims which could not be lightly excused. He was not worthy of death, but He was not altogether innocent. From this time, in St. Luke's story, Pilate speaks of chastising Him before letting Him go. He needs a severe warning against repeating His former conduct.

But on the symbolic side of his report there was no need for Herod to content himself with the robe. Here

St. John intervenes. He says that when Pilate brought Christ out for the final scene—that is to say, when He returned from Herod—"Jesus came forth wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, and Pilate said unto them, Behold the Man." St. John knows nothing of Herod. He found the story of the mocking in St. Mark, as his language shows, and there the insult was attributed to Roman soldiers. He accepts it all except the time when it occurred, and his change of order can only be due to his knowledge that St. Mark's was wrong. It must have seemed as strange to him as it does to us that Pilate should have permitted it, but of the facts he is certain. For the appearance of Christ was so pitiable that even Pilate was moved to sympathy and expected the Jews to be so also. What then would it be to a loving disciple? Long years afterwards, two days stood out among all his remembrances of Christ. One was the day when they first met by the streams of the Jordan, full of the thought of baptism. The other was this day when he saw the blood on Christ's face, the blood dripping from His hands and feet, the blood and water from His side. So he wrote, "This is He that came by water and blood, not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood." His story of Pilate's "*Ecce Homo*" comes bleeding from his own heart. Certainly he stood there in the crowd, as he had stood in Gethsemane and sat in the court-yard. We are reading the story of an eye-witness.

The discrepancies are easy to explain. Before the adjournment, Christ was within the palace. Naturally He was taken to Herod, not through the crowd, but by some quieter way. Early Christian accounts knew nothing of Herod's part in the trial until St. Luke discovered it from an informant, who was in touch with Herod's court. St. Mark, getting his incidents from St.

Peter piecemeal, had to conjecture their sequence, and, since he knew of no soldiers but the Roman ones, he placed the mockery in the only place where they would be allowed to perpetrate it. St. John's error is simply a too close following of St. Mark, except that his memory keeps him right as to the time, and he holds to that in spite of all improbability.

Once we realise that Herod's "men of war" were the men who mocked Christ, we get rid of the strangeness of it. Why should Roman soldiers have been sufficiently interested in Christ to mock Him? Their attitude throughout must have been what it was at the Cross—indifference to everything except their perquisites. He was only a Jew, whom they had been ordered to crucify, and they would hardly even ask what His crime was. Herod, meanly triumphant over the defeat of one whom he had once feared, and meanly resentful that He would not gratify a paltry curiosity, was meanly cruel enough to torment Christ with the crown of thorns and the mocking voices and bent knees.

(iii) To Pilate's "*Ecce Homo*," we must add, according to St. Luke, a finished little speech which is more likely to be the composition of the Evangelist, though he has no doubt rightly divined its general purpose. The outcome was a shout of "Away with Him, and release Barabbas," first raised, says St. John, by the chief priests and their servants. Barabbas can be easily dealt with, but Christ remains. Pilate, in St. Mark, twice more appeals to the people, and St. Luke follows him as to the number of appeals. But opposition arouses the obstinacy of a mob. Their first "Crucify Him" may only imply, "for all we care," but it grew into a fierce and threatening demand to which Pilate gave way. St. John's story is independent but not contradictory. Pilate's petulant cry, "Take Him yourselves and

crucify Him," is the irrational outburst of an angry man, not to be taken seriously. His second interview with Christ must be judged by its internal quality, and one point is not invention. Christ keeps silence until Pilate claims the entire responsibility, and therefore the entire guilt, of the crucifixion, and it is sheer pity that makes the Saviour remind him of the limits to his power, and of the share of those who delivered Him to the governor. Neither St. John nor any other man invented that. The unguarded utterances of the Jews do not seem to go beyond what might have been said in moments of nerve-racking excitement. "He ought to die because He said He was the Son of God" was an unwise revelation of their true thought. "We have no king but Cæsar" was foreign to their deepest convictions. "His blood be on us and on our children" was the invocation of a terrible curse on their race. But at such moments men may say such things.

THE CRUCIFIXION

St. John's account of the crucifixion is short and, more distinctly than usual, it is supplementary. The word to the Mother of our Lord and the disciple has a private and almost domestic significance. The most striking feature, the references to the Old Testament, is not at all to be regarded as the source from which the narratives, in that case legendary, sprang. For the prophecies were fulfilled apart from St. John's additions altogether. The casting of lots and the draught of vinegar are already told in St. Mark in the old words; the piercing of Christ's hands and feet was a fulfilment of Zechariah as well as of the Twenty-second Psalm; and that no bone of Him was broken was only remarkable because of the crurifragium which St. John alone records. For our purpose there is no need to dwell upon the narrative of the Cross.

THE RESURRECTION

Naturally we begin with St. Mark's story of the empty tomb, and we find it, since we grant the bodily resurrection, a natural, graphic, and convincing story. Perhaps we should hesitate to accept the visible appearances of angels, though there is, of course, no doubt that the New Testament writers believed in them with confidence. St. Mark, however, says nothing about angels. The youth whom he mentions becomes an angel, or two angels, in the later gospels, but St. Mark calls him a young man. It would be quite credible that a young disciple had heard in the upper room Christ's prophecy of resurrection and His appointment of the Galilean rendezvous, and that, finding the tomb empty, his unsophisticated enthusiasm sprang to the truth which his elders doubted. Who was the young man who fled naked in the garden? The common identification with the Evangelist is only a guess. Without committing ourselves to another conjecture, we may let him remind us that such disciples existed and might be present where only the Twelve are prominently mentioned.

We have already noticed that St. Matthew's additions are unreliable, and this applies especially to his description of the angel, of terrible aspect, seated outside the tomb on the stone which he had rolled away. If the stone was not moved by human hands, it was either by a supernatural force which Jewish thought would call an angel, or by some convulsion which we should call an earthquake. It is curious that St. Matthew combines the two alternatives. His account is just what first-century imagination would produce. His story of the guard is in itself less suspicious, and it would throw light on the woman's dilemma about the stone. For without knowing of the seal, which would have made their enterprise

impossible, they might have known of the guard and counted on their help. But the real difficulty is that the Jews' fear implies that Christ had spoken plainly and publicly about His resurrection, and that the chief priests had understood what the Apostles failed to understand. All, therefore, that we can take usefully from St. Matthew is his evidence that, when he wrote, the Jewish explanation of the resurrection belief was that the disciples stole the Body.

The later Synoptists agree against St. Mark that the women hastened to report the angelic message to the Apostles. St. Mark says that they said nothing about it because they were afraid, and he added something besides which we no longer possess. Now St. John's story, which practically begins here, explains what really happened. Mary Magdalene came running to St. Peter and St. John, reporting the empty grave. But instead of mentioning the "angel" she makes a statement which implies that she did not believe in him at all. "They have taken away the Lord out of the Sepulchre." This is just what St. Mark means, and his lost ending probably went on to add "disbelief" to their "fear."

Nothing could be more natural than the story of how the two Apostles ran to the tomb. But when we pass to that of Mary at the tomb again we lose the sense of reality. Nowhere else in scripture are angels so ineffectual. They ask a question which presently Christ Himself asks more fully, but they have no message, and they do nothing. They were not mentioned when St. John came to the tomb, so that they are not constant guardians. It would be easy to treat them as a purely subjective vision. We shall see that St. John, alone among New Testament writers, is sceptical about angels, and though he repeats in a vague way the common belief that they

were seen on Easter Day, he refuses to follow it in making them the announcers of the great event. As soon as Christ Himself appears, the story becomes again vivid and energetic, being told probably almost in Mary's own words, and Christ's words are important and in their language most significant.

We may take it that St. Matthew's account of Christ appearing to the women is a blurred version of that in St. John. The women touch Him as Mary does, and, as Mary sat on the ground, her position as well as her reverence would make her also "hold Him by the feet" as she worshipped. But St. Matthew gives Christ nothing to say except a repetition of the angel's command which they are already running to obey. One consequence which follows even from this imperfect narrative is that St. Matthew agrees with the others that Christ first appeared in Jerusalem. We have no foundation whatever for the theory invented by modern critics that He first appeared in Galilee. They assume that a mention of the rendezvous there must have been followed by a record of the Apostles' obedience. But St. Mark says definitely that the women disobeyed, and St. John agrees with him. When Mary reported that she had seen Christ Himself, the Apostles seem to have disbelieved. What the gospels really give us is that, because the Apostles would not have obeyed the former charge, the angel's message was given; and when that was disobeyed, Christ Himself appeared; and when the Apostles were still unconvinced He appeared to them; and so finally He was obeyed, according to St. Matthew, and there was a meeting in Galilee.

We can only conjecture what the lost end of St. Mark contained, but on our theory of its date it is not unlikely that it contained the first three appearances in St. Paul's list in 1 Cor. xv. And in that case St. Matthew's

meeting in Galilee would probably be based on the third of these. The omission of the appearance to St. Peter, of which St. Luke was aware though he omits it, may well be due to severe statements in it. Remembering how outspoken St. Mark is about Christ's reproaches of the Apostles, we can easily believe that it was painful reading to those who revered the great leader and martyr. And the same may be true of the appearance to the Eleven, if that was recorded by St. Mark. Even St. Luke reports that they were with difficulty brought to believe the Resurrection. And the statement in our present ending of St. Mark that "He upbraided them for their hardness of heart" may be a genuine reminiscence of the original account. Indeed, the loss of that ending may be due to the same fact, since it was cut off precisely where unbelief must have been first mentioned, probably in strong terms, although it was in the middle of a sentence. If the last paragraphs were not read in church they might be omitted in copies meant for church use, and since all our texts may have come from such copies, we can understand their total disappearance, even if it occurred after the other gospels were available to supply the resurrection story.

The accounts of the appearance in the upper room are similar in St. Luke and St. John. In both, Christ suddenly appears in the midst. He shows His hands and His feet or side. The disciples rejoice. They receive a commission to go forth in Christ's name. The scene ends with reference to the Holy Spirit, promised in St. Luke, received in St. John. At the same time the language and details are too different to be the result of dependence in either direction. The resemblance may arise from following either the same oral tradition or the lost paragraph in St. Mark.

We need only mention the journey to Emmaus in

order to acknowledge that it contradicts our view of what took place. For we believe that the angel's appearance to the women was not reported to the disciples until after Christ had Himself been seen, and therefore we must reject Luke xxiv. 23. But we have already seen reason to believe that St. Luke composes the speeches which he puts into the mouths of others, and although their general tenor is reliable, details of language must necessarily reflect his individual opinion.

Our study of the Passion and Resurrection narratives leads to certain quite definite conclusions. The accuracy of St. Mark has perhaps been too much assumed as a basis of comparison for us to claim it as established. But at least it has given us an adequate basis. In some places we have had to challenge his order. And it is still more significant that a close investigation reveals many gaps and obscurities which are hidden from the casual reader. The witness of Papias is thereby confirmed, since St. Mark displays exactly those limitations which would result from the method of obtaining information which Papias describes. Not only did he receive each paragraph as an isolated piece of knowledge, but, as St. Peter used them in his teaching, each was given as a vivid impression rather than as a carefully polished gem. There was no opportunity for the questioning which would have led to the illumination of their obscurities. For instance, if St. Mark had asked what made the high priest's portress suspect him, much that St. John tells us might have been given in St. Peter's reply.

The traditional view that St. Luke was a careful and skilful investigator and St. John an eye-witness, a view in each case based upon their own claims, is to a great extent confirmed. St. Luke's information about Herod is of the first importance, and it tends to make us respectful to his stories about the walk to Emmaus, or the penitent

robber, for which he has no support from the other evangelists. There is an entire absence in his gospels of the suspicious details so numerous in St. Matthew. The reliability of St. John is not established by anything in what he tells us, but by his unerring criticism of the weak spots in St. Mark. He makes us feel each time that his criticism is based on personal knowledge of the facts. It is not as if he were using a sound imagination to patch up the earlier gospel in a rational way. Whenever St. Mark slips, we seem to hear an authoritative voice intervening with a, "Not so. The facts are these." So far, we have not sufficient data to decide whether the voice is that of the Evangelist or of a greater Witness, upon whom he relies. But there are several passages in which we must have the very words of the Witness, whether he was, or was not, the actual writer.

What is the nature of the connection between the Third and Fourth Gospels? Although St. John is frequently indebted to St. Mark for his language, we have found no instance of any similar indebtedness to St. Luke. It seems impossible that he had before him the Lucan story of the trial before Pilate, since it offers an obvious explanation of the difficulty which St. Mark presented to him. If he was a secondary writer, combining facts from St. Luke with those from St. Mark—and that is what Dr. Streeter, for instance, holds him to be—it is remarkable that he omitted such points as the Lord looking upon Peter. But while he gives no evidence of knowing St. Luke and some evidence of ignorance, there are places where the two gospels approach one another. We have observed this in the rejection of the kiss of Judas and of the night enquiry by Caiaphas. The visit of the disciples to the tomb, Luke xxiv. 24, is another instance. St. Luke (xxii. 67) makes Christ speak of the hopelessness of defending Himself before the Sanhedrin,

which reminds us of St. John's description of His attitude. The appearance in the Upper Room is the most striking of all, unless it is in both founded on St. Mark. On the whole I believe that the most probable explanation is that St. Luke had some contact with that source of information which we must call the Johannine tradition, because it is most fully preserved in the Fourth Gospel. This, we may believe, was extant in Jerusalem at the time when St. Luke visited it about A.D. 57-59.

HISTORY IN ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL

THE attacks which for a century have been made on the reliability of St. John as an historian have had an effect even on those authors who do not sympathise with them. It has become quite usual to disregard what St. John tells us about the facts of the life of Christ, because we cannot count upon their acceptance by others. There is a danger that judgment may go by default, and the question ought to be faced. For if the accuracy of St. John's statements can be defended, we have no right to set aside his very important contributions.

The test of historical accuracy is consistency. The one assumption which we all make, and must make, in such matters, is that our account of past events must form a system in which the details cohere rationally, and the actors behave in a psychologically possible way. In its broadest extent, this means that our world is a real universe, one all-embracing system of consistent and mutually supporting parts. For example, all disbelief in miracles is an elaboration of the thesis that in our experience miracles do not happen. They cannot therefore be included consistently in a view of the world which also includes that experience. All defence of miracles is an elaboration of the thesis that miracles are not contrary to nature but to our knowledge of nature. The claim is that by widening our view of the possibilities we shall be able to construct a system in which our ordinary experience and occasional extraordinary and miraculous events can be harmoniously related with each other. The illustration warns us that a fruitful source of error is the attempt to construct our system on too narrow a basis, without making due allowance for all the facts.

Now this is what has often been done in dealing with St. John's gospel. Men have begun with a study of the Synoptists and formed an opinion about the Person of Christ and about the events of His Ministry which is wide enough to embrace all the information which they give. When they turn to St. John they find other aspects of Christ's consciousness and of His work for which the Synoptists had not prepared them. They jump to the conclusion that St. John cannot be harmonised with the Synoptic history. In reality the inconsistency is not with that but with the theory too narrowly constructed from it.

INCONSISTENCY WITH THE SYNOPTISTS

An enquiry into the historical value of St. John must be twofold. First, is there really any discrepancy with the Synoptists? Secondly, if there is, which of the two accounts is the more reliable? As soon as we embark upon it we discover that discrepancy exists, at least, as to the order of events. It is not of the first importance, but as it is immediately noticeable we may take it first. Unless we admit two cleansings of the Temple, two feasts at Bethany, two scourgings and mockeries, the chronological contradiction is obvious. It was noticed by the Elder whom Papias quoted, "Mark wrote accurately, but not in order." Mark is wrong, and the implication is that someone else—it will turn out to be St. John—is right. The Elder probably took this view, because he had first-hand knowledge. We agree with him because we have seen that St. Mark could not, and did not wish to be, chronological in his arrangement. Apparently St. John did, and his order rings true.

(a) The cleansing of the Temple in St. Mark's position would be a studied act of defiance and a claim to authority.

In St. John's position, where it is Christ's first public action at Jerusalem, to which He has come fresh from His Baptism and Temptation, it is an unpremeditated burst of enthusiasm and scandalised indignation. His own new followers were shocked by it, but afterwards they remembered a Scripture which explained and excused it. "The zeal of Thy house hath consumed me." Psychologically the whole of this is very human, but it is applicable only if we accept St. John's dating of the event. At a time when Christ's mind was full of the impending rejection of the "wicked husbandmen," and the destruction of the Temple, His interference with a single detail is far less likely.

(b) The feast at Bethany cannot be so certainly dated. St. John does not actually say that it took place six days before the Passover, which he gives as the day of Christ's arrival in the village. He might prefer to complete the Bethany events before going on to Jerusalem. Such a departure from the order of happening may occur in any biography for clearness' sake. It is possible elsewhere in St. John, for Nathanael's retreat under the fig-tree implies the heat of summer, or if it was for privacy, at least that the tree was in full foliage, and yet he dates it some weeks before Passover. On the other hand, the position of the feast in St. Mark is quite plainly chosen because Mary's anointing points to the Passion and makes a good introduction to the story of it. Quite conceivably the true date lies between those of our authorities, but there is no particular reason for suspecting St. John's and much for suspecting St. Mark's.

(c) We have already given reasons for rejecting St. Mark's position for the mockery of Christ, though he is certainly right about the scourging. St. John here falls into error by too great reliance on St. Mark in uniting the scourging and mockery in one paragraph, and we have

seen that it was quite natural for a bystander to suppose from Christ's appearance that He had already been scourged when Pilate brought Him forth.

(d) That St. John is right in his belief that Christ was crucified on the eve of the Passover and not after it is so generally admitted that we need only refer to it.

Our conclusion must be that on the whole the order of events in St. John is more chronologically correct than that of the Synoptists. We may pass to other and more important differences.

CHRIST AND THE BAPTIST

In St. John's gospel the connection between Christ's Ministry and that of the Baptist is far more intimate than in his predecessors. From them we learn that Christ was baptised by St. John, and perhaps St. Matthew (the least reliable of the three) suggests that St. John heard the voice from Heaven. But there is no other indication that St. John identified his "Coming One" with Jesus of Nazareth. Later, after his imprisonment, it is a matter about which he lacks, and desires, assurance. Christ's answer is enigmatic, and concludes with a warning against finding His conduct a stumbling-block, a warning that He seems to think St. John needs. Christ bears witness to the unique greatness of St. John, but with a proviso that ordinary men in the Kingdom will be even greater. Otherwise the Synoptists emphasise a contrast between the two ministries. John was ascetic, Christ was not. John's disciples were fasting, Christ's were not. Yet all the while the Baptist is given a prominence which their account of him in no way justifies. An account of him is the normal way of beginning a gospel.

Similarly, in the Acts the knowledge needed by an Apostle must go back to John's baptism (i. 22), the

beginning of Christ's work is similarly dated (x. 37), and St. Paul makes John definitely His fore-runner (xiii. 24). The Apostles in one place speak of him as a religious teacher whose example Christ might be expected to follow by teaching them to pray, little as He actually followed it in other respects (Luke xi. 1). Here again, in the gospel and in Acts, St. Luke approaches St. John, but he falls very far short of explaining the synoptic attitude. Indeed, he still leaves it difficult to see why Christ accepted John's baptism at all, and yet in one place Christ speaks as if a decision about its validity were the necessary preliminary to one about His own authority (Mark xi. 27-33).

It is St. John's gospel which supplies the historical foundation for the synoptic view. Here, in the first place, a definite situation is provided for the prophecy of the "Coming One." A deputation of Priests and Levites is sent from the Sanhedrin, at the instance of its Pharisaic members. They enquire what claim he makes for himself and what is the meaning of his baptism. He answers by depreciating it in comparison with that which will be administered by the "Coming One," who already stands in the midst of them. This implies an identification with Jesus, and also that the prophecy was made at the end of his ministry, when Jesus had already been baptised.

The synoptic view that it formed part of his public preaching is really somewhat suspicious. One can hardly doubt that when he set out upon his ministry his enthusiasm was supported by a hope of success. But he found, as all prophets have done, that mere ethical preaching does not suffice to produce a moral revolution. "Lord, who hath believed our report?" is the normal experience. To take away the sin of Israel there must be one who can act as well as speak, in whose hand is a

winnowing fan, and who can baptise with Holy Spirit and fire. That conviction is a conviction of his own inevitable failure, and it would tend to bring his work to a close through the waning of his own faith in the methods he was using. But he would hardly speak openly of it unless compelled by circumstances which made it a duty. Even St. Luke, again approaching St. John, says that the confession was made when it became necessary to disclaim Messiahship. But of this general popular surmise there is no other evidence, and it is more likely that, as St. John says, the Baptist made his statement in answer to an official enquiry, and again to his intimate disciples.

The deputation was apparently satisfied by St. John's minimising explanation, at all events to the extent that no action was taken against him. Virtually he had asked why they worried about a mere external washing with water. Josephus takes almost the same view. "He commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness" (A. xviii. v. 2). St. John's defence seems to have become the general Pharisaic explanation.

That St. John, after this time, identified the "Coming One" with Jesus is assumed in the Fourth Gospel. He himself attributes his knowledge to what he saw and heard at the Baptism, in particular to the Voice which called Jesus the Son of God. But could he have saluted Christ as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world?" We cannot suppose that he used the words in the full sense which they have for us and for the Evangelist. The second clause only expresses

the work in which he had failed and which the Coming One was to accomplish. But he had looked for One who would act with the terrors of divine wrath and overwhelming power. Destructive wind and fire would be His instruments, and in their synoptic context the baptism with Holy Spirit and fire means this, and not the Christian sacrament of which St. John and the revised St. Mark think. It was the mistake of the first Elijah. Actually Christ had come to the Baptism with meekness and "a still small voice." The Lamb, as in Isaiah, symbolises this meekness which had been so great a surprise to the Baptist. The same contrast is referred to in the Revelation : The Angel says, Behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah. And I looked and behold a Lamb. In that sense St. John may well have said what the Evangelist reports.

We learn also from St. John that Christ's ministry had so close a connection with that of the Baptist that it was at first a joint work. The Synoptists hint at this by summarising both in the same words. But nowhere do they tell us that Christ's earliest disciples were gathered from among those of St. John, or that jealous followers of the latter regarded Christ as a rival to their master, or that baptism was employed in Christ's ministry. Hence when a teachable Pharisee came to Him Christ challenged him at once on the debatable question. He could not deal with him unless He knew where he stood about that. It is the same as His later public attitude, when He refused to discuss His own authority unless that of the Baptist was first settled. So the conversation with Nicodemus starts with the declaration, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." Christ allies Himself definitely with St. John's side of the controversy. He affirms the need of the radical change which St. John

desiderated but could not produce. But instead of contrasting the two baptisms He unites them in a way which foreshadows the Christian sacrament. If "we speak that we do know" refers to Himself and St. John, then "ye receive not our testimony" is already justified by the Pharisees' rejection of St. John.

A COMPLEMENTARY CHRONOLOGY

The picture which the Fourth Gospel gives of St. John is not only credible in itself but furnishes the historical situation which the Synoptic Gospels demand, and accounts, as nothing else could, for the reverence in which the early Church held the Baptist. But in order to make room for it we have to grant also an early ministry in Judæa. The synoptic account is carefully dated "after John was put in prison,"—words which we need not press too literally. It is sufficient that Christ's work in Galilee only developed after that of John had ceased, and this leaves room for the first three chapters of the Fourth Gospel. Similarly, that gospel leaves room for a Galilean ministry. For Christ returns to Galilee through Samaria at harvest time, that is, about June. Except for one visit to Jerusalem for an unnamed feast, He stays there till Tabernacles, that is, October, in the following year, a period of some sixteen months. After that St. Mark speaks of a Ministry in Judæa and Perea which must have lasted some six months. During it St. John adds that Christ visited Jerusalem three times, about which St. Mark's plan, as we have seen, forbade him to say anything. Thus there is no necessary contradiction between the two histories, and contradiction is now no longer asserted by reasonable critics.

But we need not restrict ourselves to merely negative consistency. The feeding of the five thousand is dated

by St. Mark in spring-time,—just before Passover according to St. John. The Apostles had just returned from their preaching tour, which would naturally have been made after winter had come to an end. Just at that time occurs the Jewish feast of Purim, which would be the unnamed feast of John v.—unnamed because, not being commanded in the Mosaic Law, it would be unknown and of little interest to his readers. The objections of Westcott and others to the identification are founded on subjective preconceptions. This, then, was how our Lord occupied Himself during the absence of the Apostles, and it was quite natural that He should test the readiness of Jerusalem to receive Him, when the evangelisation of Galilee was approaching completion. The result, says St. John, was a conflict with the rulers primarily about Sabbath-keeping, and we turn back to St. Mark and find that soon afterwards a deputation of scribes comes down from Jerusalem and criticises Christ's keeping of the Law. The Pharisees in the capital had been brought into contact with Christ, and their suspicions had been aroused by a realisation of the extent of His unorthodoxy. The two gospels are not only mutually consistent but mutually explanatory.

The opening of the seventh chapter of St. John gives another example. The unbelief of the brethren of our Lord does not mean direct opposition. On the contrary, what distinguished them from the disillusioned multitude who, after attempting to make Him their King, now walked no more with Him, was a greater degree of goodwill arising from their family relationship. So we should gather from Mark iii., which may even reflect the circumstances of this period. "Show thyself," they say, "to the world." From St. Mark we learn that He had just returned to Capernaum from that journey in the north which had probably been of considerable duration.

Christ, the brethren think, is throwing away His last chance. A visit to Jerusalem at the great feast would enable His disciples, the Galilean multitude whose devotion was growing cold, to see His works again. He might recall the waverers and make new converts. If He really seeks to be a public character, He must not hide Himself up in the north.

Christ, however, knew better than His brethren what would be the result of a demonstration in Jerusalem. The world hated Him because He testified against its evil deeds. He did not desire either an immediate conflict with the rulers or a recrudescence of the Galilean enthusiasm. So He went later, and according to St. Luke by the shortest road through Samaria, and yet arrived late, when the festival was half over. What detained Him? According to St. Luke He prepared the way for His short mission in the south by sending seventy disciples two and two before Him. Some look on this statement as Q's version of the mission of the Twelve. But that view overlooks its distinct character as preparatory to His coming, whereas the Twelve were rather partners in His ministry. It also fails to recognise the position which the Twelve held in the early Church and the impossibility of confusing them with any other company of disciples. It was, however, quite possible to assign to either band instructions really given to the other. Without insisting on the accuracy of St. Luke's figures we can say that the plan was a rational one, and that a large number of men would be sent. It would take some organising, and only in Capernaum and its neighbourhood could the required disciples be found. This explains the delay which St. John tells us about.

It appears that the events of Christ's career, as told by St. John, agree remarkably with the synoptic version, especially as they dovetail into its reports; that St. John

is more useful than they in enabling us to obtain a rational conception of it ; and that where there is discrepancy St. John on the whole is more reliable. But does this apply also to Christ's discourses ?

ARE THE DISCOURSES A FAITHFUL RECORD ?

No one would claim that we have in these a verbatim account of Christ's words, any more than we have in the other gospels, the authors of which in fact hold themselves at liberty to alter the sentences of their authorities. Yet there are certainly sayings which seem to be Christ's very words, because of their depth and fulness of meaning. There are others which betray a different outlook from that of St. John's epistles, and which are best explained as due to the fidelity of his report. On the other hand, large portions are so definitely Johannine in expression as well as in idea that we cannot but reckon them as coloured at least by his mind. Yet we ought to admit that even in these he is endeavouring to give us the teaching of His Master. It is inconceivable that one who is almost meticulous in his preservation of small details and his correction of St. Mark's narratives where his memory challenges them, should be careless of the truth when he reports Christ's words.

Chapter vi. gives us an opportunity of estimating the difference between St. John and the Synoptists. It corresponds with the whole of what we have distinguished as the third block in St. Mark's story of the Ministry. It begins with the feeding of the multitude and ends with the confession of St. Peter. It records the false enthusiasm of the multitude and their later defection—the first suggested in St. Mark, and the second implied by Christ's final departure from Galilee to other fields. It tells of the Jews seeking a sign, which is not given to them.

The teaching of Christ at this stage is in St. Mark concerned with the contrast between external material things and spiritual realities, and in some way the miracle of the loaves is pointed to by Christ as containing the key to His own philosophy. All this reappears in St. John as the contrast between meat that perisheth and the Bread of Life, between the spirit that giveth life and the flesh that profiteth nothing. It goes further in the claim that Christ not only gives, but is, the Bread of Life, and in the revelation of His unique relation with the Father. We cannot object to an *Évangelist* merely because he has a more mystical message than another, and we are not yet ready to discuss St. John's view of the Person of Christ.

Here we have to notice that the chapter really covers a considerable period, possibly anything up to five or six months. It does give evidence of uniting what was said on two or three occasions, but we would not conjecture from its internal structure that it contracts into a speech or two the circumstances and teaching of so long a time. Yet that is what it apparently does. It is the record of a situation of some duration, not of single events. And from that point of view, so far as we can check it by St. Mark, it is a perfectly faithful record.

Applying this investigation to chapter v., we find it confirmed in many ways. The long discourse which begins at ver. 19 is easily seen to be the combination of three quite separate ones, viz. 19-30, 31-40, 41-47, the subjects of which are different, although all help to define the relation between Christ and the Jerusalem rulers. The discourse is as composite as the Sermon on the Mount, and there seems no reason why we should pass a harsher judgment on the one than on the other. But St. John actually puts us on our guard in a way that St. Matthew fails to do. The imperfect tenses in vers. 16-18 must, by anyone familiar with St. John's grammar,

be given their full value. He cannot take liberties with Greek that a native or even a scholar would, but he is like a schoolboy whose excellent work shows that he knows and observes all the rules. So he tells us that "for this cause the Jews *began a persecution* of Jesus, because He *used to do* such things on the Sabbath," and "they became the more desirous to kill Him, because He not only used to break the Sabbath but habitually called God Father in a special sense, making Himself equal with God." Similarly, the middle form ἀπεκρίνατο differs in New Testament use from the common ἀπεκρίθη by being an answer to a situation or attitude and not to a particular question. It can sometimes be translated, "he explained," or "he said in defence." Its use in v. 17, 19, indicates, as the imperfects do, that we are not dealing with a sentence uttered on one occasion, but summarising Christ's attitude throughout a period.

This is the true explanation of those apparent signs of inconsecutiveness which have led many scholars to attempt a reconstruction of what they imagine to be the original order of the gospel as first written. They remind one of the famous Shakespearian editor who noticed that "Sermons in stones, books in the running brooks" would be more in accordance with facts if we transposed it to, "Sermons in books, stones in the running brooks." There is no reason to suppose that St. John had the orderly and prosaic mind which they confer on him. He was as capable of adding out of due order a speech that occurred too late to his mind, as of mentioning that "Annas sent Him bound to Caiaphas" out of its proper place. Hence we get xii. 44-50 placed after the Evangelist's own summary and conclusion of the ministry, and any schoolmaster of St. John would have put a bad mark against it—if he had been criticised by a schoolmaster before the nineteenth century.

Chapter xiv. brings the scene in the Upper Room to a close, and then continues for two chapters to represent Christ conversing with the Apostles. Some of His sayings explain and should precede those of chapter xiv. and yet it does not follow that St. John cannot have written his gospel in the order which we now possess. We shall then regard this portion not as a single discourse, but as reminiscences of what Christ said at various times during those last days.

It is only because of their suitability to the last days that we make even that reservation, and the same is true of all that Christ said about His approaching Passion. Naturally He spoke more about it as it drew nearer. But to suppose therefore that, at some assignable date during the Ministry, He realised that He must die is to go too far. Again, there is really no foundation for the prevalent belief that St. Peter's confession of His Messiahship at Cæsarea Philippi was the first time that such a belief was expressed, and that then it became an "open secret" between Christ and the Twelve. The idea springs from a complete misunderstanding of the plan of St. Mark's gospel, though it is St. Matthew and not St. Mark who makes the confession a crisis, after which Christ began to speak to them about the Cross. St. John's version of the confession throws quite a different light upon it. So widespread was the defection that Christ turned to the Twelve with a temporary loss of confidence even in them. "Will ye also go away?" St. Peter answers the doubt with a profession of belief that He is the Holy One of God. This is quite in harmony with St. Matthew's addition, "Thou art Peter." The Rock is a suitable name for a man who stands steadfast when others fall away, but not for one who has shown remarkable spiritual discernment. St. John's account is distinctly the more probable, and it

carries with it the rest of his references to the Apostles' faith. The Apostles were first drawn to Christ by the witness of the Baptist. Already, though with some doubt, they wondered among themselves, "Is not this the Christ?" With increasing knowledge they believed more and more confidently until they were ready to forsake all and follow Him. At the crisis they confessed that they had staked all upon Him. "Lord, to whom should we go?" The immense edifice which has been built on a narrow misreading of the Synoptists falls to the ground.

Very much the same may be said of the suspicions cast on the raising of Lazarus. St. John's account is so full and circumstantial, so moving in its picture of the sisters' sorrow, that we are apt to magnify the importance of the event unduly. It may have seemed to the others not to be much greater than the raising of Jairus's daughter. St. Mark's plan forbade him to include it even if he knew it, and St. Matthew, as we have seen, knew little about any miracles not in St. Mark. It is only St. Luke, then, whose silence is in any way remarkable. When he visited Jerusalem the story may not often have been spoken of, for a miracle is often but a nine days' wonder, and what he heard may not have impressed him greatly.

But it is said that it was the real cause of Christ's death. St. John does date from it an increasing excitement and an increasing enmity, although he represents the intention to kill Christ as already definitely formed. But this does not contradict the Synoptists. They have no reason of any kind to give for the policy of the Sanhedrin except the general one that His claim to Messiahship of a divine kind was blasphemous, and that is also asserted in St. John. They say that His attacks on the rulers brought it to a head, but that may be true without throwing any doubt on St. John's view.

We can easily grant that both versions give partial pictures of the truth.

And the conclusion that we arrive at is that there are no objective grounds for laying aside the witness of the Fourth Gospel to the life of Christ. Wherever it differs from the three it is, in its internal character, at least equally worthy of credence with them. The freshness and independence of it point to an original eye-witness, and it is difficult not to believe that he was the writer, or at least that his statements have been so faithfully preserved that the actual writer is rather the editor than the author of the book. Who this immediate disciple of Jesus was is a comparatively small problem.

CHAPTER VII

THE JOHANNINE CHRIST

THE LOGOS

ST. JOHN, we must never forget, writes : " In order that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name." But what he writes is a selection of " the many signs which Jesus did," and of the words He said which also were signs. His aim is theological and religious, but in his method he claims to be biographical. Yet he begins with a Prologue, which is his own inference from the life he had seen to what Jesus must have been in order to live it. It is metaphysical. Now it is by no means uncommon for a writer to state in a preface the conclusions to which he will bring his readers. But what is remarkable in St. John's gospel is that he does not explicitly bring us to what he states in his preface. He does not lead us to the Logos who is its subject, but to the Son of God. There is for him no conflict between the two conceptions, not even the contrast which modern theologians find in them. When the Word became flesh His glory was that of an only begotten Son. Nor is " Son " a term to be confined to the Word as Incarnate. When He speaks of the glory which was His before creation He still addresses God as His Father. But even in the Prologue Word gives place to Life and Light, and grammatically it is the Light who ever dwells in the world which He made, and ever comes to it. Henceforward we hear always of the Son, with life and light as the gifts which He brings to man. The Word disappears.

But the Son is, for all that, still the Word in the sense that His primary work is *Revelation*. What He gives is given by His words : " The words that I speak to you

they are spirit and they are life"; "I have manifested Thy name to the men whom Thou gavest me . . . and they have kept Thy word. . . . The words which Thou gavest me I have given them and they received them." In the Prologue grace is spoken of as well as truth: "He was full of grace and truth, and of His fulness we all received, and grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." So much deference the Evangelist pays to the Pauline term "grace" and the Pauline antithesis between law and grace. But these appear no more. Eternal life is indeed the gift of God through Christ, but it is not called grace. It must begin by a taking away of sins, but we hear nothing of justification. Instead of the Pauline theology we have an insistence on believing in the Father as revealed by Christ and in Christ as the Revealer. "I am the Light of the World," rather than its Redeemer. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," rather than the Reconciler. "To this end was I born, and for this I am come into the world that I might bear witness to the Truth."

Appropriate as it is to his conception of Christ's Person and work, there is yet no indication whatever that "Logos" was a favourite and habitual term in St. John's vocabulary. In the second century a "Logos theology" was developed, and it looked back to St. John as its authority. But though it sprang from the gospel it is not to be found there. In the opening of the first epistle of St. John Christ is called the "Word of Life," but the sequel speaks of life and not of the word. It is the Life that was manifested, the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. And similarly in the gospel the Prologue is an exceptional outburst, comparable in that respect with St. Paul's panegyric of love or Isaiah's chapter liii.

When St. John sat down to write he intended to write biography. Where should he begin? St. Mark's gospel was his chief, it may be his only, external authority, the type with which alone he was familiar. Like him St. John would begin the history of the "signs" with the Baptist, but the witness of John the Baptist does not occur until ver. 19. Twice before the Evangelist has made a start, but each time thoughts of Christ crowd upon his mind and claim precedence. For as he recalled his model he could not but criticise it: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ." Was it really so? Did the gospel really start from ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης or even from the prophecies which went before? John was, as Isaiah said, a voice, but the word which the voice spoke was Christ. The prophets spoke from God, but "these are they which bear witness of Me." One could not even, as St. Matthew did, think of a "Book of the Genesis of Jesus Christ." He had no genesis. In the beginning He was. The Revelation which He makes, and is, is confined within no limits of time and space. It has the universality and the eternity of God Himself. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things came into being through Him." Philosophy supplied the Evangelist with the name he wanted, but nothing else. He is no Alexandrian, no philosopher of any school. One might as well say that a writer of our time is necessarily a Darwinian because the word evolution occurs in his book, as say that St. John has learned from Philo because he uses *Logos*, in a sense of his own, and drops it again.

THE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR OF CHRIST

We may leave the Prologue for the present. The narrative proper begins, with the witness of John, in a new key. It has been said that St. Mark differs from the

later Evangelists in that he is "unembarrassed by reverence." He has no scruple about recording the emotions and gestures, the physical and mental limitations of Christ. It is equally true of St. John. "Jesus being wearied with the journey sat thus by the well." He weeps by the grave of Lazarus. He asks others to show Him where they laid him. He says to Pilate, "Asketh thou this of thyself, or did others tell thee?" He declares His thirst on the Cross. He uses instruments—the scourge of small cords, the clay with which He anointed the blind man. He "finds" Philip, and the man healed at Bethesda, as if by searching. So He hears that the blind man has been cast out and, knowing it in the human way by hearing it, He finds the man, as in the other cases. It is altogether a human and natural Christ that meets us here.

The miracles recorded in the Fourth Gospel are similar to those in the synoptic ones. The water made wine is like the feeding of the five thousand, alike in its significance and in the difficulty it presents to the imagination. Both involve creative powers but, as the feeding is recorded by the other Evangelists, no question can arise of an exaggeration of Christ's power in St. John.

Indeed, creation of new substance is implied in apparently simpler cases of healing—probably even in so-called "functional" cures, since the inability to function is presumably the result of structural defects. Men find these easier to believe, merely because the miracle occurs in a hidden and restricted, possibly microscopic, area.

The cure at Bethesda may be compared with others where the malady existed for many years. The cure of the "Nobleman's" son at a distance is like that of the Syrophenician girl, also at a distance. The blind man is cured by the same means as the one at Bethsaida. The raising of the dead is the same whether the man has

been buried, like Lazarus, or is on the way to burial, like the man at Nain. Finally, the draught of fishes in chapter xxi. need not necessarily be miraculous at all, since the shoal may have been visible from a cliff on shore—a device practised by our own fishermen. We are not here concerned with the credibility of miracles, but with the conception of our Lord's Person, and all that we need to note is that St. John's stories are similar to those of the Synoptists. They influence our imagination more because of the fulness and naturalness with which they are told. Yet St. John does not set a higher value on them than the others do. Only in one case perhaps does he seem to tell a miracle for its own sake. The rest are there for the sake of their bearing on the narrative or the lesson to be drawn from them. In this he resembles St. Mark and differs from St. Luke and still more from St. Matthew.

It is noticeable that he says nothing about the casting out of demons, and his reserve, as in his treatment of angels, indicates some scepticism. He admits, and he makes Christ claim, that the miracles witness to Christ. "The works that I do witness about Me that the Father has sent Me." They really do no more than that, as Nicodemus quite rightly says. They serve to attract men, but they do not conduct them to a complete faith. Therefore Christ speaks of them as an inferior way: "Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me, or else [if you cannot do that] believe Me for the very works' sake." Christ even appears unwilling to perform them. "Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." At the first passover many believed because they saw the signs, "but Jesus Himself did not trust Himself to them because He knew them." The Galileans received Him for the same reason, but many of them afterwards turned back. The excitement after

the feeding of the five thousand was rebuked as a labour for the food that perisheth. St. John, with some wonder in his own mind, confessed that though He had worked so many miracles, the people of Jerusalem did not believe. We cannot say, then, that he over-estimates the effect and value of miracles.

There is one witness to Christ's supernatural powers which he dwells upon much more than the Synoptists do. He insists on His power to read men's hearts and to know what occurs at a distance. He represents Christ as characterising St. Peter and Nathanael at His first meeting with them. During the last discourse Jesus knew that the disciples desired to ask Him a question. He reads the mind of Judas, and foreknows His own death and resurrection. There is, however, nothing in these instances that separates St. John's picture from the earlier one. It is, indeed, difficult to say where the miraculous begins, where human insight ends. Just as we are told that St. Mark's man bearing a pitcher of water may be a prearranged signal, so Nathanael may have been actually seen in the flesh on the previous day. We cannot give such an explanation of Christ's knowledge that the woman of Samaria had had five husbands, and it is quite permissible to doubt its existence. For if the story comes from her it must have been hard for St. John to disentangle the facts from her over-fluent chatter, as her townsmen call it. The woman who said, "Come, see a man who told me all things that ever I did," would not be an easy witness to examine. But whatever we think ourselves, the belief of St. John is that Christ had far more than human knowledge. He refuses to allow us to rationalise. But was he, in that belief, any different from the rest of the Apostles? The other Evangelists may not insist on it so strongly or so often, but there can be no doubt that they hold it. It is

not from any hint of theirs that we try to shape the mind of Christ on the model of our own experience. The reason that St. John dwells on such features is that they harmonise with his fundamental idea of Christ as the Truth and the Revealer of Truth.

So far then we have not discovered any contrariety between the Johannine and the Synoptic Christ. But we have still to face an accusation of such contrariety. St. John, we are told, makes Christ constantly dwell upon His own claims, insist on His own Person as super-human and so pertinaciously bear witness to Himself. A close examination will, it is true, show that most, if not all, that St. John says is implied in the Synoptist reports, but it is only implied. If Christ really made such claims the silence of the Synoptists must be explained. It is at least some explanation to remember that their gospels are just as much a selection of material as St. John's. They assume belief in Christ while he gives the grounds for it. It is the difference between a sermon addressed to a Christian congregation and a theological treatise. The Christ whom they assume cannot differ fundamentally from Him whom St. John describes, as we shall presently find. But we shall find too that His Person is more directly important to St. John than to them, because while they think of Him as saving the world by what He does, St. John thinks of Him as Saviour by what He is. This difference, which also will become clearer as we proceed, may account for St. John regarding the revelation of His Person as the true gospel.

THE SPIRITUAL HUMANITY OF CHRIST

(a) *His Relation with the Father.*

A hasty reader of St. John is impressed chiefly by the claim of Christ to be the complete and perfect Image of

the invisible God, but in reality what St. John's description most prevaillingly exhibits is His dependence on the Father. This is spoken of in various ways.

(1) It may be represented as obedience. "My meat and drink is to do the will of Him that sent Me and to finish His work;" "I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do." It is true in particular of His death: "I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again. This commandment I received from the Father"; "the Prince of this world cometh and he hath nothing in Me. But that the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave Me commandment, even so I do." It applies also to His teaching: "I spoke not of Myself, but the Father who sent Me has given Me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak."

(2) The dependence of Christ on the Father is elsewhere a communion with Him in perfect understanding and imitation: "The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father doing: for whatsoever things He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner"; "The things which I heard from Him, these I speak unto the world"; "He that sent Me is with Me: He hath not left Me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to Him"; "Even as the Father knoweth Me and I know the Father."

(3) Finally, communion deepens into immanence: "That ye may know and understand that the Father is in Me and I in the Father"; "If ye had known Me ye would have known My Father also. . . . He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in Me? The words that I speak I speak not from Myself, but the Father abiding in Me doeth His works."

Every prophet is accustomed to announce his message

with a "Thus saith the Lord." He must hear the Lord's word, and receive a vision of Him before he can speak. Every religious man must live in dependence upon God, seeking to do His will. So far, Christ is as we are. But His claim is that His obedience is perfect and continuous, His knowledge at least as complete as His service requires. Though the relation to the Father which we have observed is essentially human, its perfection extends far beyond our experience of ourselves and others. Yet Christ promises even this to His disciples. "The works that I do shall he do likewise"; "If ye keep My commandments ye shall abide in My love: even as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in His love." As He is the Son, so to those who receive Him He gives power to become children of God. As the Father hath sent Him, even so He sends His disciples. As He is not of this world, even so are they not of this world. The immanence which He experiences is to be theirs also: "Ye shall know that I am in the Father and you in Me and I in you"; "That they all may be one (a unity) as Thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they may be in Us." On the other hand, it is with reproach that He tells His opponents that they cannot hear the Father's voice, and have not His words abiding in them, that they seek not the Father's glory, nor for themselves the glory that is from Him. Their claim to have "One Father, even God," is not set aside as impossible, but challenged as one that their deeds contradict.

Thus the character of Christ's relation with the Father is human, and declared to be so both because it is the goal of the disciples' course and because its absence is a mark of imperfection and even sin. It is also human in being maintained against a theoretically possible alternative, as when Christ cried, "Now is My soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour. But

for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy name." Again, "I have many things to speak and to judge concerning you; howbeit, He that sent Me is true; and the things which I heard from Him these speak I unto (or into) the world." Whether this means that He will be silent about self-chosen themes and restrict Himself to the Father's Message, or that though He knows the tragic consequences, He will utter the Message in loyalty to the Father, it involves the rejection of a course which presents itself to Him as a possible, perhaps as the natural one.

The picture which St. John draws of Christ is, then, one of a perfect human character. His relation to the Father, His works, His knowledge, the decisions of His will, are those which might be, and ought to be, found in men. Yet at the same time He is represented as being more divine than men can be at their best. They also are sons of God but He is pre-eminently the Son. The difference is clearly stated in the peroration of the epistle: "We know that whosoever is begotten of God sinneth not: but He that was begotten of God keepeth him, and the evil one toucheth him not." Not only is the function of the Only-begotten unique, but the repetition of the same word emphasises the variation of sense.

(b) *His Uniqueness*

The uniqueness of Christ is manifested in three ways:

(1) His Perfection is itself unique and requires explanation. Upon it has been founded an argument that appeals to many minds and has been expressed in popular form by Mr. Studdert Kennedy (*Food for the Fed-up*): "When you set out to get it, to find the Holy Grail of spotless manhood or womanhood according to the pattern that Jesus wrought, you will rapidly change

your idea of what perfect humanity means, and it will dawn on you that perfect humanity must be Divine, and Divine in a very real sense—a sense that stings, and hurts, and calls. The Divinity of Jesus to one who has set himself the task of attaining to goodness of His pattern ceases to be a dead dogma, and becomes a living, burning fact” (p. 128). “The Jesus pattern of goodness alone is good enough. His life alone shows what has been working itself out (through the world process) all the time, and shows it in human terms. The goodness of Jesus is the goodness of God, and is of another order from what can be called human goodness pure and simple. That is fundamentally what you mean when you call Jesus Christ ‘His only Son, our Lord’” (p. 131). “Once you start trying it, you will not be likely to say that it is merely human; that is the kind of thing that a scholar says who talks about it in the abstract, but is content with his own cleverness in the concrete. You will know it is Divine all right, but your temptation will be to say that it is impossible. . . . But you will come to it that this impossible goodness is necessary, inevitable, if human dreams are to come true” (p. 133). “When you stand there with necessity behind you and impossibility in front, when the choice is stripped of all disguise and you see that it must be Christ or the present chaos—then you are down on rock-bottom and will cry to the Perfect Man, Lord I believe, help Thou my unbelief. I do believe—I want to believe—in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord” (p. 134).

“If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God or I speak from myself.” It is an argument which would certainly appeal strongly to St. John. One of the leading thoughts of his epistle is that conduct depends on origin, and that origin must infallibly manifest itself in conduct. The long section

from ii. 12-iv. 6 is dominated by the preposition 'ex of source, translated in the English Bible as 'of.' Evil is not of God. "All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes and the vainglory of life is not 'of' the Father but is 'of' the world." The going out of the antichrists from us proves that they were not "of" us. On the other hand, everyone that doeth righteousness is begotten of God. We are to try the spirits whether they are "of" God. "They are 'of' the world, therefore they speak as 'of' the world and the world heareth them. We are 'of' God. He that knoweth God heareth us, he that is not 'of' God heareth us not."

To a thinker of this sort the unique perfection of Christ suggested a unique nature. He must be begotten "of" God in some fuller sense than can be predicated of imperfect humanity, even of those who, devotedly but with only a measure of success, are endeavouring to imitate Him. St. John was one of these. He had found the perfection of Jesus impossible, and yet he had heard and seen it in Jesus. The impossible was in Him an actual fact. "He tabernacled among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of an only begotten Son from the presence of His Father."

(2) Christ is also unique as the Mediator between God and Man. Whatever of goodness and truth we attain is due to Him. If in one sense it is an Imitation of Christ, parallel with His, it is in another sense a derivation from Him, and for that very reason, to St. John's mind, of the same kind as His. His formula is, what the Father is to Christ that Christ is to us: "As the living Father hath sent Me and I live because of the Father, so he that eateth Me, he also shall live because of Me"; "The glory which Thou hast given Me I have given unto them;" "As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even

so sent I them into the world." Christ is not only the source of eternal life but the only source. "Except ye believe that I am He, ye shall die in your sins."

St. Paul approaches this position through the Resurrection, the basis of his faith and his theology. Resurrection is of course as human as death, and Christ's resurrection implies ours; and indeed a transfiguration of the whole material universe. But the distinguishing mark of Christ, declaring Him to be the Son of God, is that He is risen already. He is the Beginning, the Firstborn from the dead, that in all things He should have the pre-eminence. Nevertheless, the real proof of salvation in Christ is from experience. Those who believe do actually rise into newness of life. They are delivered from the body of this death. The ordinance of the law is fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. St. John has the same belief that he who believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself. "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren." How Christ saves us may be long debated but that He saves us, that Life is mediated to us through Him, is the experience of all saints. The life is in the Son. He that hath the Son hath the life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life.

(3) The uniqueness of Christ is finally and most fully revealed in His universality. Christ shows the way of life to every man, and however different men are they find Him adequate. From every station in life and every grade of education, from all kinds and degrees of civilisation, they recognise in Him the Lord of all good life. The evidence already began to be impressive when St. John wrote. He could put Nicodemus and the woman of Samaria side by side. He may have noted how Paul the learned disciple of Gamaliel was drawn back to Jerusalem to visit Peter the fisherman, how the treasurer

of Queen Candace and the Roman gaoler at Philippi sought one baptism. The impressiveness grows as the centuries pass and reaches its highest in our own day. East and West meet one another when so typical an American as John R. Mott and so typical an Eastern as Sadhu Sundar Singh bear witness to one Master. General Gordon and Sun Yat Sen and Mahatma Gandhi yield allegiance to the one ideal character. He is the bond between the learning and culture of Albert Schweitzer and the barbarism of his Africans. The saintly refinement of Bishop Patteson goes on one pilgrimage with the simple stumbling piety of Clement Marau. For Jesus of Nazareth is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.

From the first, in St. John's gospel, He is seen, and sees Himself in no narrower environment. He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. Because God so loved the world He was sent to it. His prayer is that the whole world may believe that the Father sent Him. His conflict is equally universal. No other Evangelist dwells as St. John does on the extent and strength of the opposition to Him. The world becomes his name for the enemies of Christ. Even though he reports Christ's prophecy that He will draw all men to Himself, he can only hope, himself, for a gathering together of the children of God who are scattered abroad. Nor is Christ's immediate view different. His disciples are only a few "chosen out of the world," and the evil one can still be called the Prince of this world. Thus in His conflict no less than in His redeeming work Christ's environment is the universal one.

But He is also universal in time, or rather beyond time, for His eternity is one of the prominent characteristics of the Logos as described in the Prologue. Some approach to this is given by St. John's conviction that the

Old Testament is a revelation of Him. He is a new Jacob to whom the heavens are always open, so that the angels at Bethel are a sign of His unbroken communion with the Father. He is a new Moses. If Moses regulated the Sabbath observance so that he might provide for circumcision on the eighth day, it is a matter of course that He has similar legislative power. He is the Sufferer of the 22nd and the 69th Psalms. He is also the serpent that was lifted up in the wilderness, and the Passover Lamb. He is the true Manna, the Bread of Life whom the Father gives from Heaven. He is the living Water from the Rock. [The context of John vii. 38 compels us, somewhat in defiance of grammar, to say that it is from His Body that streams of living water proceed, since the previous sentence is an invitation to drink of Him, and the following one declares the believer to receive Holy Spirit, not that He is the channel through whom it is ministered. And the scripture referred to is the Septuagint translation of Psalm lxxviii. 15, 16]. Generally, if the scriptures are sincerely searched, they will be found to testify of Him. Some of these references are attributed to Christ Himself, and in other ways it is clear that He has a consciousness of pre-existence. One expression of it recalls Bede's story of the Northumbrian who compared man's life with the sparrow which flies for a short time through the lighted room and vanishes into the dark winter from which it had emerged. "So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before and what is to follow we are entirely ignorant." All our knowledge is but a spot of light on the dark ocean of the unknown. All experience is shrouded round with mystery. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Precisely this limitation of our knowledge Christ denies to be true of Himself :

"Even if I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true ; for I know whence I came and whither I go, but ye know not whence I came and whither I go." To the disciples He says : " I came out from the Father and am come into the world ; again, I leave the world and go unto the Father." In the prayer which follows He speaks explicitly of " the glory which I had with Thee before the world was."

We must think of a consciousness of pre-existence rather than a conviction. It is knowledge by direct apprehension, like that which we have of our own existence, not by logical ratiocination leading to a theory that He must have pre-existed. There are many who have a conviction that they will live through death ; not so many who live consciously as on the threshold of a higher life ; for whom the future is so axiomatic that it affects all their thinking. So there are some who hold a theory of the pre-existence of souls, but none who sanely claim consciousness of it, though a Wordsworth may fancy that babies come " not in entire forgetfulness." Even in Christ there is no need to postulate what can rightly be called memory ; any more than a belief in a future life implies the power to picture what its experiences will be. Yet it is safe to say that He is represented as having a consciousness, and not only a conviction of His pre-existence. The sentence quoted from His prayer comes in very incidentally as an habitual apprehension would, and His common phrases of " coming into the world," and " being sent " are in harmony with such a consciousness. It becomes easier in that case to understand the outburst in which He claimed the Divine title " I am." For to the Jews the claim necessarily appeared a horrible blasphemy, filling them with anger and disgust. It is hardly justifiable unless His mouth spoke from the overflowing of His heart—unless it was

the almost involuntary exposure of the baselessness, as He saw it, of their argument that there could be no relation between Abraham and Himself.

Christ, then, knows His pre-existence, and with it His Divinity, by direct consciousness, but the Evangelist, like ourselves, can only know it by reasoned inference. It would appear that his premises are especially, the perfect confidence of Christ's fellowship with the Father, His entire mastery of every situation, and His accurate foretelling of the conflicts and victories of His Church. Eucken similarly postulates as the inevitable mark of an incarnate divinity that He would know nothing of man's heaviest burden, "the doubt and uncertainty, the groping and wandering, and the way in which all his doings seem to be swallowed up in an impenetrable world." St. John bears witness that Christ was actually free from this burden, and therefore infers quite naturally that He is truly divine. But while Eucken thinks that such a freedom would be incompatible with manhood, St. John never hesitates in his affirmation of Christ's true humanity.

THE DEITY OF CHRIST

We are not immediately concerned with whether St. John's doctrine is the truth, but we must satisfy ourselves that it was one which an intimate companion of Christ could hold, and that not by merely ignorant superstition. So we may note the parallel with our ordinary human intercourse. In ourselves we are conscious of a spiritual nature. But in others we directly perceive only bodies and bodily behaviour. We infer their possession of a spiritual nature like our own, by analogy from the likeness of their bodies to ours, and as the only way to account for the bodily phenomena. St. John believed similarly in the spirits of his companions and in the same human

spirit in Christ. But in Christ he found something so different and so much higher than his spirit and theirs, that he was forced to regard the human spirit in Him as itself the vehicle of the Divine Word, just as, in Him and all men, body was the vehicle of the spirit. In us body implied spirit. In Him body and spirit alike implied beyond themselves the inexplicable Something—Deity : “ As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ,”—which is not an explanation but a parallel between two mysteries, unequal indeed in dignity, but similarly certain and similarly inexplicable.

Somewhat in the same way we must picture what in Christ's own consciousness His divinity involved. We are aware of ourselves as spirits but also as bodies. The body is myself, and yet in thought, though never in reality, I can separate myself from it. Under no circumstances can I, even in thought, separate myself from spirit, since the thought is itself an activity of spirit—and of body also, though that is a conviction and not a consciousness. If Christ is divine, He must know Himself divine by a direct awareness, and know His human nature somewhat as we (and of course He also) know our bodies, as separate and yet inseparable, as secondary to ourselves and yet indispensable. Essentially He is the Son, but in His consciousness He can no more cease to be human than we can cease to be “ in the flesh.” A corollary is important for our study of the gospels. There can be no question of Christ ever discovering that He is divine, though there may have been a moment at which His consciousness of divinity became explicit. It is not true that we ourselves begin by being unconscious of our personality. The simplest feeling I have is *my* feeling. What happens is that at a certain moment of development I learn to distinguish from myself a non-ego, an environment which surrounds me. It is the existence of the

environment that has to be learned. What Christ, as a developing human being who was also divine, would learn at a certain assignable stage must be that other men are not divine as He knew Himself to be. This would make His own divinity explicit to Himself, but would not be the beginning of His awareness of it. One is tempted rather to press the imperfect tense in John ii. 25 : "For He Himself was getting to know what was in man." The nature of humanity in Himself as well as in others, not the nature of divinity, was what He had to learn.

If it is at all reasonable so to present to ourselves not the Divinity but the phenomena of Divinity incarnate, we should find no difficulty in supposing that St. John's picture of Christ is truly historical, at the very least to the extent that it accurately records the impression made upon him *at the time* by the conduct and words of Christ. It is not idealised. It is not prophetic vision, nor memory blurred by deepening adoration. However we interpret the witness, we may accept the fact that Christ said, "Before Abraham was I am," just as confidently as that being weary with the journey He sat by the well in Samaria. For this conclusion we shall adduce three arguments.

THE JOHANNINE CHRIST HISTORICAL

(a) *It is Recorded as Historical*

In the first place, undoubtedly the Evangelist believed himself to be writing history and as in the narrative portions of his book he is distinguished by his love of accuracy, his mind is not one that easily confuses fact and imagination.

(b) *It is Implied in the Synoptic Christ*

A second argument is that, after all, the Synoptic Gospels imply for their understanding the Johannine

Christ. They also represent Him as the Saviour and Redeemer of all the world. He is the fulfilment of the old scriptures. His Death is the ransom for many. To Him is given all authority in heaven and earth. Rejection of Him is a sin greater than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, of Tyre and Sidon. It brings about the destruction of Jerusalem. Christ is ever adequate for every occasion in the present, and can foresee the future. Finally, He will be the judge of mankind, and His sentence of condemnation will be, "I never knew you. Depart from Me." The claims of Christ in the Synoptic Gospel are inexplicable, unless He was what St. John proclaims Him to be.

(c) *The Evangelist is too Prosaic to imagine it.*

But, besides these and other arguments which have often been used, we venture to assert that the Evangelist is not really a mystic at all, that the mysticism of the gospel was Christ's and not his. To this conclusion we are brought by a comparison of the words of Christ, which he reports, with his own comments and with the epistles, though we have to bear in mind that the reports are not verbatim, and are sometimes difficult to separate from the comment.

(1) ST. JOHN AND THE IDEA OF IMMANENCE

One of the most prominent features of our Lord's speeches is the mutual indwelling of Christ and the Father, and of Christ and the disciples. To the former there is no parallel in the words of the Evangelist. The nearest he comes to it is the reference to the Son as in the bosom of the Father, and "he that confesses the Son *has* the Father also," but in the second Epistle this last becomes, "He that abides in the *teaching* [of Christ] has the Father and the Son," which is not a mystical indwelling

but a faithful discipleship. Christ dwells in the disciples and they in Him, as the branches of the Vine cohere in it. It is the common life which is here in question, the life imparted to every branch and making it fruitful. It is comparable with St. Paul's undoubtedly mystical "Christ liveth in me" and his habitual "in Christ." Equally clear is Christ's promise, "We will come unto him and will make an abode with him." But in St. John's epistle it is ; "Whoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God" ; "God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God and God in him. No one hath seen God at any time : if we love one another, God abides in us, and His love has been perfected in us."

Here it is clear that St. John turns from the mysticism to a plain practical instruction in what a Christian should believe and do. And this is entirely characteristic of the epistle. Faith slips from St. Paul's justifying and saving faith into a mere credal statement, as in the verse just quoted, and in "who is he that overcometh the world but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God," and "who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ." Love of God easily proceeds into love of the brethren, which to the writer is a far more natural thing. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen." The conclusion of all that he says about walking in light as the condition of fellowship with God, is "he that loveth his brother abideth in light." This does not cancel the deep saying which the Evangelist attributes to Christ, but it does betray a wholly different temperament in himself, and therefore it implies that his attribution is historical. It is impossible that he should be so uncomfortable in the exposition of ideas which had sprung from his own mind.

(2) ST. JOHN'S PROSAIC EXPLANATIONS

It is noticeable that his explanations of some of Christ's figurative language seem to miss their full significance. Christ said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." St. John makes the saying refer to the resurrection, but, even if we grant that as part of the meaning, there seems to be also an indication of the spiritual Kingdom which is to replace the ancient Church. Again, the lifting up from the earth which is to draw all men to Christ is not merely a reference, as St. John says, to the uplifted cross, but to all that St. John himself calls the "glorifying" of Christ. The Living Water which is to flow from Christ's own Person is not simply a prophecy of the bestowal of the Holy Spirit. The claim of Christ that of those given to Him He had lost none, might be exemplified, but was not fulfilled in His pleading for their safety in Gethsemane. We may compare the way in which St. John robs Mary of Bethany of a mystical anticipation of the Burial. According to the favoured text, he reports Christ as saying, "Suffer her to keep it (not 'to have kept it') unto the day of My burial." St John's interest is apparently more with the practical Martha than with her sister, who merely echoes her lament that Christ was not there sooner, while Martha's interview and her later words are recorded in full. Martha indeed turns away from Christ's saying about the Resurrection and the Life, just as St. John himself might do, to a credal faith, "Yea, Lord, I have believed that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God, who cometh into the world." Here again, then, in these passages, we find a tendency to dwell on the more obvious side of things.

(3) ST. JOHN AND THE UNSEEN

It is quite in accordance with this that St. John cares little about the supernatural beings in which his contemporaries, and presumably himself, believed. His only reference to demoniac possession is to report the foolishly false charge against Christ that He had a demon. Similarly, angels are only once mentioned, besides the plainly metaphorical reference to Jacob's vision and the popular supposition that the voice from Heaven in Holy Week was an angel speaking to Christ. It has already been shown that this one, the appearance of angels to St. Mary Magdalene, is of small interest to the Evangelist. The one denizen of the unseen world whom St. John takes much notice of is the Devil. He is the "father" of the wicked, both in our Lord's conversation, and in the epistle. He is the Prince of this world. As Satan, he entered after the sop into Judas, having already, as the Devil, put it into his heart to betray Christ. Yet, even so, St. John prefers to speak of him as the "evil one," and in most references he might just as well be a personification of evil as a personal agent. "The world" is almost as distinctly personified. It is a real cause of lusts which are "not of the Father but of the world," in the same way as he that sinneth is "of the Devil." The Prince of this world might be what we would call the world-spirit. The world is the enemy which the faithful must overcome. In view of this other personification it would be possible to believe that the more personal references to Satan are but a yielding to a customary mode of expression. Certainly we may say so of antichrist. St. John's readers have heard that he should come, but St. John resolves him into "many antichrists," and these are former members of the Church whose heresies have led to schism from her. In the same

way the "spirits" whom the Church is to test are really human deniers of "Jesus Christ come in the flesh." They are of the world, and the world listens to them. There is no hint of the principalities and powers who are for St. Paul real enemies fighting against the truth.

(4) ST. JOHN AND THE ATONEMENT

St. John's mind is so wholly occupied with eternal life under earthly conditions that he is free to a remarkable extent from any complicity in a "transactional" view of Christ's redemptive work. He believes that our sins are forgiven for His name's sake, and that He is our Advocate with the Father. He pleads for us and is the plea. His blood cleanses from sins, and He is, and was sent as, the Propitiation for them. But the Propitiation is not offered to God, it is sent from Him. Not the dying upon the Cross but the Blood of sprinkling cleanses by being applied to us. He is the Propitiation now—not He was, or became so, on the Cross. Redemption results rather from His person than from His work. Even the cleansing must be understood in the light of such sentences as, "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken to you." The Blood bears witness: "This is He that came by [or in] water and blood, not in the water only but in the water and the blood, and the Spirit is the witness because the Spirit is truth—so there are three bearing witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, and the three are to one effect." All this connects with the Cross, and the Blood and Water from Christ's side, and I have suggested that its significance is founded on the vivid overmastering impression of an eye-witness. Yet its purpose is to *witness*, and that, not to a work in time, but to the Person of Jesus Christ and the truth that eternal life is given us in Him. There is no suggestion anywhere that Christ's Death was a Ransom,

or a reconciliation, or a victory over him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil. It is sacrificial in as far as Christ is typified by the Passover Lamb, a bone of which might not be broken. But in general it is part of the glorifying of Christ, the revelation of the full significance of His Person.

Only by comparison with other parts of the New Testament do we realise how startlingly free from reliance on "a dealing with God" (or with Satan) St. John's writings are. This is not to adopt a subjective view of the atonement. It is a real work of Christ, and there is a new "creation" in Him as well as in us. His "glory" is indispensable to His further efficacy. But this further work is simply the sending of the Holy Spirit. Personal action upon us by the risen Christ is out of sight. The second advent is a manifestation of Christ, when we shall see Him as He is. But there is nothing about a consummation of all creation, or a day of judgment. "The word which I have spoken, that word shall judge him at the last day," or, more often, and in St. John's own comment, the unbeliever is already judged, condemned by his unbelief. Thus St. John's religion rests upon God, revealed in Christ and active in the Holy Spirit, but not upon events in the unseen world. The revelation is made here. His is a religion of experience, but one that includes with infinite confidence an experience of Christ as Son of God and Son of Man. Yet no one could be more free from the reproach of Tritheism.

CONCLUSION

The outcome of all this is that we can with some degree of certainty distinguish the mind of the Evangelist from the impression of Christ which he has received. And when we do, we discover the Evangelist to be no philosopher, no mystic, but a very practically minded

person, religious rather than theological, sceptical about superhuman beings, impatient of spiritual mysteries, but ardent in his devotion to Christ, eager in his desire for truth, and very sure that we could be like Christ if we could only see Him as He is, and that we shall have life in His name if only we truly and really believe in Him. This has an important bearing on the problem of the authorship of the gospel. It helps us to understand why the Gnostics were attracted by him, and why the rationalising theologians of Alexandria founded their Christian gnosis upon his writings. It tempts us to prophesy that when our Modernists find time for constructive work, and when they free themselves from the prejudices of the older liberals, they will find in St. John the greatest and most fruitful of all the expounders of Christ's religion.

But for our present purpose the more important result is that the Johannine Christ is just the Christ whom St. John patiently and laboriously tries to show us as he himself saw Him. And yet Christ, with His more than human consciousness of God, with His clear vision of things which the mystics long to see into, with His transcendence of time and place in the universality of the Spirit, is too far beyond us to be described. The thought of the Evangelist falters, his language becomes obscure, the unearthly beauty of his theme eludes him. Only his sincerity and his love remain to guide his pen, and to make us know, not all, but what he can convey in words, of his experience when the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory—glory as of an only begotten Son from His Father—full of grace and truth.

A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

IF the history in St. John's gospel is reliable, as having the authority of an eye-witness, and the representation of Christ's Person such as an eye-witness might be expected to give, it is a matter of secondary importance that we should be able to identify that witness. We need not enter fully into the vexed question about the accuracy of the Catholic tradition that he was John the son of Zebedee. Nevertheless, our investigations suggest an argument in its favour which has not been so much used as other lines of research, and some points of it may be emphasised.

We must first consider the theory that the author of the Fourth Gospel used St. Luke's, a theory warmly advocated in England by Dr. Streeter. His view implies that not only St. John but his readers were quite familiar with St. Luke, and this, to begin with, is very dubious. No certain references to St. Luke exist in the scanty sub-apostolic literature unless they occur in the epistle of Ignatius to Smyrna. There we read: When (after His resurrection) He came to those around Peter, He said to them, Take, handle me, and see that I am not a spirit (demon) without body. And immediately they touched Him and believed, becoming blended with His flesh and blood. . . . And after His resurrection He ate with them and drank with them as one in the flesh, although spiritually He was united with the Father." Plainly this is another version of the story of Christ's appearance in the upper room as told by St. Luke. When the men from Emmaus got back to Jerusalem they found the Eleven gathered together saying, "The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared unto Simon." Hence

Ignatius speaks of them as "those around Peter." He sees them eagerly listening to St. Peter's story. "Handle me and see," are St. Luke's words, the only ones common to both writers. Ignatius alters πνεῦμα "spirit," to δαιμόνιον, and sums up the clause "hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have" in the one word ἄσώματον, without body.

That Christ ate and drank with the disciples is told in Acts x. 41, but without any details, and this verse may influence the form in which Ignatius tells of Christ eating of the broiled fish. But, supposing that he is dependent on St. Luke's narrative, we can take a step further. When a man quotes a passage with which he is quite familiar, he can generally remember its language as well as its substance. When he quotes what he once read a long time before, he gives the whole narrative in a blurred and perhaps distorted form. When he quotes what he had recently learned and been impressed with, he gets the substance vividly and correctly, but not the language, unless that also was striking. Ignatius visualises the scene which he describes clearly, but the only phrase which he remembers is that at the heart of it, containing the rather uncommon word *ψηλαφήσατε*. Hence we conjecture that he has recently read St. Luke, but is not familiar with him.

This is supported by another small fact. Ignatius wrote four epistles from Smyrna and three, including that to Smyrna, when later he reached Troas. In the former set he twice refers to Pilate: "The birth, and the passion, and the resurrection which took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate" (Mag. 11); "Was truly born, and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died." (Trall. 9). But at Troas he writes, "Truly born and baptised . . . truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes

under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch." (Sm. 1). There is no special reason for mentioning Herod on this occasion of using the credal statement of which he is so fond. We think it occurs because he has just been reading St. Luke, the only gospel in which Herod's share in the Passion is told. Our conclusion is that Ignatius became acquainted with St. Luke only at Troas, or at the end of his stay at Smyrna. Now he has absorbed and made his own the theology and language of Ephesian Christianity which we possess in the Fourth Gospel, and it is very probable that he knew the gospel itself. If then, St. Luke was known in Ephesus twenty years before, how did Ignatius fail to become acquainted with it also? For some reason, most probably because of its destination, the gospel of St. Luke seems to have been very slowly disseminated, though his Acts, quite naturally as the only existing record of St. Paul, spread more quickly. There is a *prima facie* difficulty in believing that it was used in the composition of the Fourth Gospel.

For evidence on the other side Streeter relies largely on St. John's narratives about Mary of Bethany. Many commentators suppose that his change of the anointing from the head of our Lord to His feet is derived from St. Luke's story of the woman who was a sinner in Galilee. That St. Luke identified the two women depends upon his omission of the Bethany story, and upon his incidentally naming his Pharisee Simon, a very common name which occurs also as that of the host in St. Mark's Bethany episode. But the argument does not rest really on what St. Luke may have thought at all. It demands that St. John accepted his identification of the two women, or else that he was so familiar with St. Luke that the anointing of the feet slipped in by "unconscious conflation." The latter alternative is as impossible as the former. In fact, the whole story requires the anointing

of the feet. St. Mark is mistaken, for the use of the few drops which were all that could decently be poured on the head could not give rise to indignant protests against wasting the perfume. St. John got nothing from St. Luke, and if St. Luke got anything from the Bethany story, he may well have got the whole anointing, since it is difficult to see how the woman happened to have the ointment with her. Only he got it in the same form as St. John's, another instance of his approach to the Johannine tradition.

The opening of St. John xi. is in any case difficult. Lazarus appears as an unknown "certain man," yet he is not at first said to be the brother of Mary and Martha, a fact which comes in incidentally in ver. 2. If that verse is a later gloss, as some suppose, we only hear it at ver. 19. Everything demands that "the village of" in ver. 1 should be "the brother of." But if we hesitate to amend a phrase so characteristic of St. John, at all events Streeter's explanation that it means "the village which St. Luke speaks of in his story of the sisters" is far-fetched. There is not much difficulty in supposing that ver. 2 refers forward in the same way as "Judas who also betrayed Him" commonly does. It only means that the readers of St. John were already familiar with the story in the form in which he had often told it. But nothing will ever make the "elaborate cross-identifications" of Streeter's hypothesis "natural." When he looks for a use of identical language the only impressive case he can find is the similar modification of Mark xiv. 30, in Luke xxii. 34, and John xiii. 38. But the similarity consists simply in an obvious transposition of the principal and subordinate clauses. St. Mark wrote: "Thou, to-day in this night, before that twice the cock crows, shall thrice deny me." The others say the cock shall not crow until thou deny me thrice, but while they

agree to that extent they differ in order of words, and in the particles and constructions used, as much as their common dependence on St. Mark allows. What would Dr. Streeter have said if it had been an agreement of St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark? I think he would have said that St. Mark's sentence was clumsy, and that the emendation of it might naturally occur independently to two other writers.

Instead of literary dependence of St. John on St. Luke what we have found is St. Luke's acquaintance with a tradition that also underlies the Fourth Gospel. It occurs in every part of the gospel where a comparison is possible. Sometimes it is in a small detail common to both, sometimes in a similar explanation, like that which connects the Baptist's prophecy of the Coming One with surmises that he is himself the Christ. Sometimes it is the revelation of a similar mental attitude, as in the case of the kiss of Judas. Or, again, it may be a similar criticism of St. Mark, like their objection to Christ's words in the garden being spoken to servants. We are led to realise the importance of this Johannine tradition and that it was accessible to St. Luke, presumably at Jerusalem or possibly at Cæsarea.

But a quite definitely Johannine passage—Johannine in language as well as idea—also occurred in *Q*, and has been preserved in Matt. xi. 25-27—Luke x. 21-22. By far the simplest explanation of this phenomenon is that the teacher who speaks to us from the Fourth Gospel was teaching in Jerusalem when *Q* was compiled. *Q* includes information, no doubt, from several of the first followers of Christ, which had become current in the Church at Jerusalem. One of these teachers is the source of the passage just referred to, and having a very individual style can still be identified. Other passages which from their shortness are less striking may also be

his. For instance, "He that receiveth you, receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me," is quite Johannine.

Q seems to throw back the Johannine view of the Person of Christ as well as the Johannine style of writing to a very early date, in fact, to the time when John with Cephas and James were esteemed pillars of the Jerusalem Church (Gal. ii. 9). But it is objected that the John of the Synoptic Gospels cannot be himself the Evangelist. We need not pay much attention to the idea that a Galilean fisherman could not write so well. Perhaps it is not surprising that European professors should think that. Their predecessors in Elizabethan times were scornful of Shakespeare as "a jay decked in our feathers." It is really impossible a priori that a provincial tinker should write *Pilgrim's Progress*, or that the most charming of love lyrics should be the work of a dissolute Ayrshire ploughman. After all, John was a fisherman whom Christ chose to be an Apostle and to have a special place among the Twelve. The doubt arises chiefly in the minds of those who regard the Fourth Gospel as a work of free imagination. We have seen reason to treat it as the record of a faithful witness, and as one which in its portraiture of Christ is grappling with a subject too vast for him or any man. Westcott's discovery of depth in his obscurity, and reason in his abrupt transitions, is trustworthy perhaps just so far as the Evangelist accurately reports His Master. In some cases I cannot but think that it would surprise St. John.

But it is said that the Boanerges of the gospels cannot be the Apostle of love whom we reconstruct from the Johannine books. He rebukes the unauthorised exorcist. He would call down fire upon an offending village. He would seize on the best place in the Kingdom of Heaven. But in every case his intolerance and ambition arise out

of an ardent faith in Christ and a consuming love for Him. Love is not inconsistent with fierceness and jealousy. Nor is the Fourth Gospel free from the characteristics of St. John's love. The want of discrimination which accuses the Jews as a whole of enmity towards Christ, the undying animus against Judas, the unsympathetic reference to secret believers who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God, are examples. Perhaps the sharp antitheses of his style witness also to an uncompromising mind, which even colours his report of Christ's words, "He that hath the Son hath life, and He that hath not the Son of God hath not life." The epistles betray this spirit more than the gospel, as is natural, since in the gospel St. John is restrained by his accurate remembrance of Christ. And yet did Christ really say, "Ye are of your father the Devil?" It is more consonant with "The whole world lieth in the evil one," and other sayings of the Apostle.

There is much more to be said in favour of the Church's ancient tradition than the scholars of the present day are willing to admit. It may be that in the future we shall be able to accept the witness of St. John as confidently as that of St. Mark and St. Luke, and with the added authority which belongs to one of the chosen Twelve.

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